

Henry Duke of Grafton

Almeric FitzRoy

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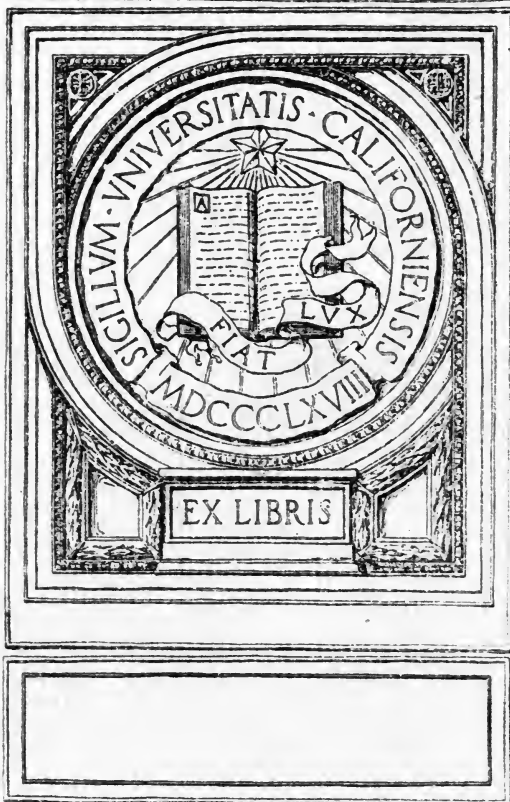
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HENRY DUKE OF GRAFTON



HENRY DUKE OF GRAFTON

From the picture at Euston

HENRY DUKE OF GRAFTON

1663—1690

VICE-ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND AND
LIEUTENANT OF THE ADMIRALTY,
NAVIES AND SEAS OF ENGLAND,
MASTER OF THE TRINITY HOUSE,
COLONEL OF THE 1st REGIMENT
OF FOOT GUARDS

BY

SIR ALMERIC FITZROY,

K.C.B., K.C.V.O.,
Clerk of the Council



LONDON

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"The most popular and ablest of the sons of Charles II.: his strong and decided character, his reckless daring and rough but honest temperament, caused him to be widely lamented."—DICT. NAT. BIOG.

W. L. Lathrop

INTRODUCTION

THE object of this memoir, which draws its source from the instinct of family piety, is to display to the curious in personal history the record of a life conspicuous for adventure and achievement during the brief span allotted to its active years.

Contributors to the main stream of national story, annalists of some of its special aspects and contemporary letter writers in public and private correspondence have all noticed the Duke of Grafton, but to the bulk of those who have heard his name he is probably known through the medium of a popular book of reference as one who, after risking his life with great gallantry in a minor episode of Monmouth's rebellion, was "among the first to desert his royal master for the Prince of Orange," in whose service he was mortally wounded at the storming of Cork.

It has seemed to the present writer, in studying the material for a fuller presentation of a remarkable career, that it deserves a wider publicity both on the score of its intrinsic interest and as an exhibition of somewhat outstanding qualities in an age to which indolence and profligacy have been attributed as its chief concern.

INTRODUCTION

The hero of these pages was the contemporary of two great soldiers, John Churchill and Charles Mordaunt (Peterborough), men whose energy and daring dazzled their own age and whose exploits have left their mark on history, but if either of them had died at twenty-seven, the record in each case would have been negligible by the side of Grafton's. It is *his* unusual precocity in a particular phase of character that it is one aim of this narrative to establish. What other Englishmen of twenty-six had claims to the command of a great fleet at a critical moment in naval history? What other, after untiring devotion to the affairs of the two great combatant professions, emerged at that age a master of both?

A subsidiary object is to exonerate him from the charges, rashly brought and inconsiderately supported, of failure in his duty to the Sovereign, so long as national interests could be maintained consistently therewith, and on this score it is submitted that the exoneration is complete.

Quick to seize the moment of action and happy in drawing from it the reward of effort, he associated it will be seen, with his military gifts, a glow of chivalrous sentiment which won the enthusiastic loyalty of those with whom he served.

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HENRY DUKE OF GRAFTON

I

EARLY LIFE

(1663—1685)

HENRY FITZROY (afterwards Duke of Grafton) was born September 28th, 1663, the second son of Charles II. by Barbara daughter of William Villiers, Lord Grandison, who died of wounds received in the siege of Bristol, September, 1643. His features, which are preserved to us in one of Vandyke's most authentic paintings, justify his reputation as a soldier and cavalier. The daughter, who in an atmosphere of social disorder was early left to shift for herself (her mother having remarried twice), combined with great beauty the determination to use it for the gratification of every want. The boy's recognition was mysteriously delayed, but he was not long left in the care of his mother ; the removal to suitable guardianship marking the

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King's interest in his development. This was further emphasised when, towards the end of his ninth year, his marriage took place with Isabella Bennet, Arlington's only daughter, the bride—strange experience for a child—being then only five years old. The event is thus recorded in Evelyn's diary : " I was at the marriage of Lord Arlington's only daughter (a swete child if ever there was any) to the Duke of Grafton " (this was an anticipation of three years), " the King's natural son by the Duchess of Cleaveland. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the King, and all the grandees were present. I had a favour given me by my Lady,¹ but tooke no great joy at the thing for many reasons." Looking to what followed, this ceremony can hardly have been a complete creation of married status, and Evelyn, who was a great friend of the Arlingtons, no doubt reflects their anxiety at giving their daughter to a lad, the foundations of whose character and disposition had yet to be laid. The bridegroom's promise of the ultimate succession to Arlington's estates was carried yet further, in ten days' time, by his being granted the Earldom of Euston.

¹ Lady Arlington, Isabella, daughter of Lewis de Nassau, Lord of Beverwaert, Count of Nassau, a descendant of Prince Maurice, son of William the Silent.

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The next step in his advancement took place September 11th, 1675, when he was created Duke of Grafton.¹ His elder brother had been made Duke of Southampton in 1674, and the son of the Duchess of Portsmouth received his Dukedom on August 9th, 1675. The letters patent conferring Grafton's dignity, contain some personal touches of special significance, notably in the words which follow the formal opening, "Whereas our natural son Henry Earl of Euston *has shown many indications of a remarkable genius* and We have deemed it most fit that those who are connected with us by the closer relations of nature should be exalted and distinguished by the highest honours and titles."

¹ The "honour" of Grafton therewith bestowed has a long and distinguished history in the record of royal manors, the term being used of a seignory of several manors held *in capite* under one lord paramount. Thus (14 Edward III.) the honour was vested in John de St. Maura by the service of keeping one white bracket having red ears (*bracco*, a lesser kind of dog, used to scent out game). Later it came into the hands of the Wydviles, of which family was Richard de Wydvil, successively squire of the body of Henry V., Seneschal of Normandy and Governor of Calais. He fell into disgrace by marrying the widow of John Duke of Bedford, and was fined £1,000, but subsequently saw service in Normandy and under Richard Duke of York in France, for which he was made Lord Rivers (26 Henry VI.). His daughter Elizabeth, widow of Lord Grey of Groby, became the wife of Edward IV., who carried on his courtship at Grafton. On the death without issue of the ultimate heirs of the Wydviles, the honour reverted to the Crown, and was finally granted by Charles II. to Henry FitzRoy, as the chronicler says, "out of a natural affection to his son, in whom he observed a virtuous disposition."

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A letter from John Verney to Sir R. Verney states that Grafton and Richmond would have had their patents earlier, "had not my Lady Cleaveland opposed it, for she is resolved that her younger sons shall not take place of her elder, nor the Duke of Richmond of either." The last point was settled against her by the smartness of the Duchess of Portsmouth, for in a later letter Verney proceeds: "The Duke of Richmond's patent was sealed on Monday last by the industry of his solicitor, who got a doquett signed at 12 o'clock at night by my Lord Treasurer,¹ and my Lady Cleaveland's solicitor came next morning, but Lord Treasurer was gone to Bath, so that Richmond will now take place, to the great grief, etc. M. L. was so cautious of disobliging, supposing that my Lord Southampton's patent had been ready also, that he stayed while the Duchess of Portsmouth's solicitor went to know the King's pleasure. The King being as wary as he (without saying which should be sealed first), writ a letter to my Lord with his own hand, signifying only that as soon as the Duke of Richmond's patent came to him he should seal it." Charles had a way of his own in dealing with Barbara's violence in pressing

¹ Thos. Osborne, Earl of Danby (later first Duke of Leeds), Treasurer 1673-1679.

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her claims. Four years later, in a letter to Lord Montagu, then Ambassador at Paris, the writer, after telling him that "Nell Guin's mother was found drowned in a ditch near Westminster," proceeds to say: "The Duchess of Cleaveland is lately come over and will shortly to Windsor, if not there already. H.M. gave the Commissioners of the Treasury fair warning to look to themselves, for she would have a bout with them for money, having lately lost £20,000 in money and jewels in one night at play."

In the autumn of 1676 Grafton was sent to Paris under the charge of the Ambassador, afterwards Lord Montagu, in order to equip himself with a complete knowledge of the French language and to acquire those social graces of carriage and conversation which, in the opinion of the seventeenth century, Paris and the Court of Louis XIV. alone could give. Montagu, writing to Arlington in February, 1677, proclaims the success of the step in terms which must have gratified Arlington's pride and helped to reduce his misgivings on the score of his son-in-law. At any rate, the report on the next person mentioned is not wanting in candour. "The Duke of Grafton does mend every day in everything as much as you could wish, and really more than you could have

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expected. Mr. Perwich's ' headde ' is at a stand, tho' he can seldom stand, for he is most eternally drunk."

It was during this year that his mother strove actively to break his marriage, having another candidate for his hand in the person of Lady E. Percy, heiress of the last Earl of Northumberland. Henry Saville, writing to Lord Roos at Belvoir, says : " The Duchess of Cleaveland is coming out of France to break the match of her son, the Duke of Grafton, with Lord Arlington's daughter, if she can ; " and Lady Chaworth repeats the same story.

However, the King's determination, based, as we may believe, upon a shrewd discernment of his son's capacity, overbore these intrigues and the hesitation of the bride's parents, to which Evelyn again testifies, and what is described, in a letter of H. Thynne to Ormond, as the confirmation of the earlier ceremony, now took place. It is thus celebrated in Evelyn's diary of September 6th, 1679 :—

" Was this evening at the remarriage of the Dutchesse of Grafton to the Duke, she being now twelve years old. The ceremonie was performed in my Lord Chamberlain's (her father's) lodgings at Whitehall by the B : of Rochester. H.M. being present : a sudden and unexpected thing when

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CHARLES II. AS A YOUNG MAN

From a picture in the possession of the Duke of Grafton

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everybody believed the first marriage would have come to nothing; but the measure being determined, I was privately invited by my Lady, her mother, to be present. I confessed I could give her little joy, and so I plainly told her, but she said the K. would have it so and there was no going back. This sweetest, hopefulest, most beautiful child, and most vertuous too, was sacrificed to a boy that had been rudely bred, without anything to encourage them but his Maj^{ty}'s pleasure. I pray God the swete childe finde it to her advantage, who, if my augury deceive me not, will in few years be such a paragon as were fit to make the wife of the greatest prince in Europe. I staid supper, where His Maj^y sat between the Duchess of Cleaveland (the mother of the Duke of Grafton) and the swete Dutchesse the bride: there were several greate persons and ladies without pomp. My love to my Lord Arlington's family and the swete child made me behold all this with regret, though as the D. of Grafton affects the sea, to which I find his father intends to use him, he may emerge a plaine, useful and robust officer and, were he polished, a tolerable person, for he is exceeding handsome, far surpassing any of the King's other issue."

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The disgrace of Monmouth,¹ who had identified himself with the Protestant extremists in the effort to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, had the effect of bringing to the front the claim of the King's younger sons to public employment. In the Dartmouth MSS. is preserved a letter from James at Edinburgh, in which he says : " I see both by other letters as well as yours, that the D. of M. continues doing things every day as occasion offers itself, to exasperate H.M. against him ; sure it must be very great indiscretion in him, or undervaluing to the last degree the Government, to behave himself as he does, and if the D. of Grafton be made Master of the Horse, the world will be satisfied H.M. is still displeased with him, which is but necessary, because people begin to think he was coming into favour again."

As a matter of fact, the Duke of Richmond became Master of the Horse, and Grafton obtained the more palatable appointment of Colonel of the Guards.

Evelyn's discernment, however, had hit upon the King's true intentions for this son's behoof.

With his natural capacity for the selection of the right men, if the business in which he was

¹ December 6th, 1679.

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engaged interested him, Charles, no mean seaman himself, had determined to place the naval education of his son in the most efficient hands at his disposal. Sir John Berry, to whom Grafton was entrusted, was one of the most distinguished sailors of the day. At the battle of Solebay (1672) he commanded the *Resolution*, and for the succour brought to the Duke of York at the height of the action was knighted by the King on the return of the fleet to the Nore. The death of Sandwich in that battle gave him additional opportunities of service, and he took a prominent part in all the engagements with de Ruyter which signalised the following year. His reputation had already marked him for the highest place. So great was his credit with the King that from 1676 to 1677 he was sent in a civil capacity to Virginia as president of a body of commissioners charged with an inquiry into certain grievances of the colonists and effected a composition, which answered the wishes of all concerned. In 1679, his ship, the *Henrietta*, was employed in the Mediterranean, and Grafton, proceeding thither, did not return till early in 1681. This period was perhaps the most salutary and formative during his days of tutelage ; it fostered self-reliance and encouraged an instinctive repugnance to the

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compliances of politicians. The roughness of which Evelyn complained, already toned by residence in Paris, was here transmuted into that energy which is the hall-mark of vigorous character, freed from irksome restraint but still fortified by discipline to the finer channels of purpose. He was at last in an atmosphere to which he felt himself native, and on the threshold of exploits tinged with the unfamiliar.

The Mediterranean at this time gave to the navy its principal opening for active service. The occupation of Tangier, which Portugal with some craft had included in the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, created a British interest at the gate of the sea, and it was an important theatre of France's restless ambitions at the expense of her decadent rival Spain. The duty, moreover, of protecting the track of British trade to the Levant from the depredations of the Moorish and Algerian fleets, which lay along its southern flank, was rarely without opportunities of maritime enterprise. In October, 1680, Sir Palmer Fairborne, Governor of Tangier, fell in battle with the Moors who were besieging the port, and in its relief Sir John Berry's squadron was actively engaged. Here Grafton first gave proof of his coolness under fire and evinced an intuitive grasp of naval warfare in the multiple aspects of

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action and adventure. His was the age of the evolution of the soldier into the sailor, and Grafton's experience of the two services was to equip him with the best qualities of both.

Charles was not slow to recognise his obligations for the care taken of his son and the value of the training, which no one was better qualified to appraise. In July, 1683, instructions under the King's own hand were issued to Sir John Berry, Knight, commander of the *Henrietta*, directing him, "in the event of the death, sickness or other disability of Lord Dartmouth, to execute all things committed to his lordship on the sea."

Grafton, during his absence, had received the Garter, his installation taking place by proxy, and on his return his reputation for practical seamanship was recognised by his election as an Elder Brother of the Trinity House,¹ in the following year to become Master; and upon the death of Prince Rupert² he succeeded that great man as Vice-Admiral of England. The contemporary chronicler thus records the appointment: "H.M. observing the extraordinary inclination with which His Grace the Duke of Grafton had apply'd himself to Sea Affairs and the successful progress he had made

¹ 1681.

² 1682.

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therein, to encourage this Disposition in him, was graciously pleased to confer upon him the office of Vice-Admiral of England."

The next step was to identify him still more closely with the great profession he had adopted, for he became the captain of the *Grafton*,¹ a vessel of seventy guns which he had fitted out at his own expense, thus giving to the fleet a name which has ever since been found in the long and stirring muster roll of the British Navy.

Later in the year he was in command of a squadron. An order of the Lords of the Admiralty (Lord Brouncker, the first President of the Royal Society, Sir E. Hales and Henry Savile) desires the Duke of Grafton, Admiral of the Narrow Seas, to hold a court-martial to try some mutineers on board the *Bonaventure*, and also the boatswain of the *Mary Rose*, who is said to have killed a man. Speculation was rife as to the destination of the ships. A letter to Lord Preston, Ambassador at Paris, where no doubt the matter was of some interest, contains some surmises on the point. Commenting on the fact that Lord Dartmouth is not going as first intended, the writer announces that the Duke of Grafton has returned from the Downs, "and it

¹ 1683.



COUNTESS OF ARLINGTON, BY LELY

From the picture at Euston

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appears from the number of ships and provisions on board that he goes to Tangier at least, and not to survey the western coast and the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, as was given out."

This same year was signalised by the birth of Grafton's only son, who saw the light on October 23rd, the sole issue of his marriage. A contemporary letter describes its birth, "with which," the writer says, "Lord Arlington is so joy'd that some say he will smother itt with kisses." Ormond, too, declares "My Lord Chamberlain is the happiest man in England."

John Evelyn records in his diary of October 26th : "I went to compliment the Duchesse of Grafton, now laying in of her first child, a son, which she called for, that I might see it. She has become more beautiful, if it was possible, than before, and full of vertue and sweetnesse. She discoursed with me of many particulars, with greate prudence and gravity beyond her years." The young mother was not yet seventeen, and yet a year before she had suffered from an abortive effort at childbirth, for Arlington, writing to Ormond from Euston, October 2nd, 1682, betrays the anxiety he had passed through in these terms : "I cannot omit telling you what an alarm we were under last week by my Lady

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Grafton's miscarriage, which, tho' it proved so, yet she is now, God be thanked, in good health." A picture in the possession of Lord Bristol at Ickworth depicts her as she was about this time, with all the shining graces of character which illuminated and adorned her candour. *Remarkable candour*

Siege of Luxemburg.¹—Ever solicitous to promote the education of a son, who had by this time taken the place of Monmouth in his affections, and in glad response to his restless thirst for adventure, Charles now formed the plan of sending Grafton to the French court at Condé, in close proximity to the Spanish Netherlands, where Louis XIV. watched the operations of Créqui against Luxemburg so as to be ready when the time was ripe for the formal capitulation, whereby the credit of his marshal's exploits was made contributory to the glory of the great King.

There was a good deal of fanfaronade in those days about a siege, with its ceremonial opening and the curtain rung down with carefully staged formalities. A letter to Charles from the Ambassador, Lord Preston, whose present representative is Sir Richard Graham of Netherby, gives a full account of Grafton's reception and subsequent movements :

¹ 1684.

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“ May 10th. Valenciennes. I humbly presume to acquaint Your Maj^y that I had the honour to wait upon the Duke of Grafton the next day after his arrival here to Condé, where he was received with many particular marks of favour and esteem by the most Christian King, and with all expressions of honour by this court. When His Grace had delivered Your M^{ty}'s letter, this King told him that Luxembourg was now invested and that since Y^r M^{ty} had sent him over to see action, he thought he would do well to go thither. His Grace replied that he came over with the design of serving his most Xtian M^{ty} and that he was resolved to go thither with diligence. When My L^d Duke was going out of the room, this King was pleased to tell me that he hoped Y^r M^{ty} would approve of the counsel which he had given the Duke of Grafton of going to Luxembourg since action was now begun there. I answered that I was assured that His Most Xtian M^{ty} might dispose of his Grace as he pleased and that Y^r M^{ty} would very willingly approve of any counsel which he should be pleased to give him. Upon Monday his Grace took leave of the King, of Monseigneur the Dauphin, and of Madame la Dauphine. His Majesty advised him on parting not to take the shortest way by the forest

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of Ardennes to Luxembourg, for fear of boores who lie in wait in those great woods for passengers, and of some parties of the enemy, which might entrap him. His Grace resolved to make a tour and to keep himself as near the French frontier as he can till he reach Verdun. My Lord Duke hath been received and treated whilst he remained here with great respect by Mons. Magalotti, the Governor of this place, and Mons. de Croissy told me he had the King's orders to write to Luxembourg to the Marshal de Créqui, to hinder his Grace from exposing himself too much at that siege. I answered that my Lord Duke was infinitely obliged to his Most Xtian M^{ty} for the care which he had of him, but that he came over with a design to render him service and that I believed he would endeavour to acquit himself as might become him there. I will not pretend to recount to Y^r M^{ty} the particular instances of the Duke of Grafton's behaviour during his short stay in the Court, or to say more than it was in every way equal to his birth and quality."

The experience of his own degenerate offspring had not prepared Louis to find in his cousin's son a true descendant of Henri Quatre and one no more likely to brook interference with his chances of winning distinction on the field of battle, and there

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is no reason to believe that on this occasion Grafton spared himself personal risk any more than at the subsequent stages of his career.

Charles, in his reply dated from Windsor, says : " I received y^r letter in which you give me the account of the kinde reception that Harry has received from the King of France ; he has done very well to go to Luxembourg, for I hope there will be action to be seene, but at that siege the States of Holland having showed so much inclination for peace, will end the matter with the loss of it, upon Mons. d'Avaux's ¹ last proposals."

Luxemburg fell in June, and a truce having followed, Grafton did not long delay his return. Writing from Paris (July 26th) to Lord Sunderland, the Secretary of State, Lord Preston says : " The Duke of Grafton having taken leave of the Court, leaveth this place this night or to-morrow morning, in order to embark himself at Dieppe for England. His Most Xtian M^{ty} hath presented him with a sword set with diamonds."

It is curious to reflect that the occupation of Luxemburg was at this moment the touchstone of European politics. The " Chambers of Re-union "

¹ Jean Antoine de Mesmer, Comte d'Avaux (1640—1709), Plenipotentiary at the Congress of Nymegen, then Ambassador in Holland and (1683) Ambassador in London.

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set up under the treaty of Nymegen, to delimit the new frontier, had, under a somewhat forced interpretation of the Treaty of Westphalia, declared certain areas dependencies of France. In pursuance of such a declaration, Strasburg had been occupied in 1681, and the claim to Luxemburg was in suspense. Charles, without having actually given his consent to Louis's occupation, had refused to assist William of Orange and the Spaniards in armed opposition, but knowing the sensitiveness of English opinion upon the point, he was emphatic in professing to believe Louis's assurance that he merely wished to dismantle the place, not to use it "as a point whence to attack others," and did his best to reassure Louis's opponents, insisting meanwhile that Louis should not proceed to any rigorous blockade of the fortress. Spain supported the Dutch, but the Emperor was engaged with the Turks, whereupon Louis, with great apparent magnanimity, withdrew his troops altogether from Luxemburg, proclaiming that he would do nothing to embarrass a Christian power involved in a death struggle with the Infidel.

However, when Sobieski had saved Vienna in the autumn of 1683, the Spaniards at once proceeded to declare war on France, and Louis seized the



ISABELLA DUCHESS OF GRAFTON

From a picture at Ickworth

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moment to lay serious siege to Luxemburg, with the result above described. There was, therefore, as Leopold von Ranke says, a close connection between the siege and the internal affairs of England, thus rendering Grafton's participation in the action a fact of some European significance.

The next six months, the last of Charles's life,¹ were spent in England, and Grafton, when his father died, took his place in that memorable death-bed scene, as the crowned sceptic, at once profound politician and easy-going epicurean, accomplished his destiny and crossed the threshold of history. No end ever fitted the man with such consummate artistry: it was indeed worth taking "an unconscionable time adying" if, in the very article of death, spirit and its shadow will were to attain such a mastery over the fleeting sources of life.

The message to the grief-stricken wife: "Alas! poor woman! She beg my pardon! I beg hers with all my heart." The tender farewells to his sons, whom he blessed, one by one, drawing them down to him on the bed. The ceremonial blessing pronounced on those who crowded the chamber, when the King, raising himself in the bed, asked pardon if he had neglected anything or acted con-

¹ Ob. February, 1685.

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trary to the best rules of good government, which so moved the company that scarce an eye was dry. The prayers of Bishop Ken, in which the King earnestly joined, swelling from time to time in broken ejaculations above the whispered hum of the darkened room. And the last touch of pathos when, with the first flickering light of a February morning, the man who so loved the open air and the caress of nature asked that the curtains of his bed should be drawn aside and the windows opened, so that he might gladden dying eyes for the last time with the glory of the risen sun and feel the breath of dawn upon his brow.

This is not the place for any detailed estimate of the disposition and achievements of Charles II., but so far as certain aspects of his character come to light in the present narrative, it is perhaps not amiss to offer some observations of a more personal significance than have appeared in the preceding pages. He was undoubtedly one of the ablest of our sovereigns, as well as among the most successful, and few men in his position have shown themselves so sagacious in the choice of instruments, but the malice and misunderstanding of historians have obscured his policy and miscalculated its fruits.

However, *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*, and

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there is no denying the universal regret which greeted his disappearance, nor the conditions of peace and prosperity which he bequeathed to a grateful people. It is true that modern writers have done him greater justice. Mahan has exercised the authority of a high reputation to vindicate the national character of his naval and colonial aims. Dr. Shaw, in his luminous introductions to the "Calendar of Treasury Books" (1660—1675), has conclusively disproved the charges of extravagance and shown that Charles's difficulties were due to the failure of Parliament to maintain his revenue at the figure fixed at the Restoration; and he has also exposed the current fallacy that the French subsidies were devoted to anti-British ends. On the contrary, but for frequent appropriations from this quarter, national services which Parliament systematically starved would have suffered. It was, in fact, Louis's money which enabled Charles in the long run to pursue a policy which was neither Dutch nor French, but essentially British, or, in a larger sense, European.

No English sovereign had hitherto brought so practical a skill to the concern of the navy. Samuel Pepys, no mean authority, ascribes to him "a transcendent knowledge in all maritime affairs," and his

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sense of their importance is well reflected in a passage from his speech to Parliament (1671): "There is not so lawful or commendable a jealousy in the world as an Englishman's of the growing greatness of any prince at sea."

The present writer, while superintending the preparation for the press of the Colonial Acts of the Privy Council (1613—1783), had occasion to note the industry of the King in giving close personal attention to this side of the administration. The care shown in the selection of colonial governors was far more conspicuous than under the parliamentary regime which succeeded, and the patience with which causes of quarrel were composed lest the outbreak of war should interrupt peaceful development, would have done credit to Walpole himself. Nor is this a solitary instance. Hardly a topic, no matter what its character, but yields the same result to the investigator. It was not long since that the exercise of the dramatic censorship under the Restoration was the subject of some notice. The right of a certain play to public representation being in doubt, Charles appears to have treated the problem with his usual sagacity: two highly competent authorities—Sir John Denham and Edmund Waller—were asked for a report, but in remitting the matter

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From a picture at Ickworth

THE
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OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

EARLY LIFE

to them, the King laid down the principles to which they should seek to give effect with conspicuous judgment and precision.¹

In the latest example—Mr. Bell's monumental history of the Fire of London—the hero of the fight with the devouring flames was the King, and he was not second to Wren in the contribution to the rebuilding of the ruined city. On "the day of London's tragedy"—the culminating episode of the ordeal—Charles was in the city on horseback or afoot from early morning to midnight. He rode from place to place, by word and example stimulating the workers; bespattered with mud and dripping with water, blackened with the universal fire dust but always alert and tireless, he proved himself a man of splendid courage and resource and won the universal admiration of his people. His "sublime good sense" against every provocation to resort to vengeful measures did much to calm them; nor is his credit diminished by the fact, with which we are now familiar, that his government had knowledge of certain plotters' designs to fire the city, as cover for the assassination of the King.

Upon the work of reconstruction, Mr. Bell shows that apart from St. Paul's and the city churches,

¹ See Note, p. 25.

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London owed more to Charles II. than to Wren. Charles II. "was the active, agitating mind. His hand was seen everywhere," from the suggestions made to the Committee of Council appointed to confer with the city representatives, to the dramatic punishment that overtook Captain Valentine Knight for publishing a scheme of a canal through the city which, besides a large capital sum, should bring to the King an annual income of £222,000, whom Charles flung into prison in his anger at the proposal that he should "draw a benefit to himself from so public a calamity of his people."

The contributors to the Cambridge Modern History, though to some extent hampered by traditional timidities, have gone far to clear the way for a finer appreciation of this reign: one of these writers has not hesitated to describe Charles as the most efficient professional man of his time.

The mere parliamentarian will still find much to criticise and excite discontent; but Charles realised there were things which transcended in values a faction-ridden legislature. He may even have considered the Royal Society as good a title to fame as the Habeas Corpus Act.

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He stood for three things : scientific investigation, religious toleration, and colonial expansion. In each he was in advance of his time ; it was given to the succeeding centuries to make good his aims and vitalise his dreams.

NOTE TO CHAPTER I.

“There is a minute, dated March 22, 1662³, by Henry Bennet, afterwards better known as Earl of Arlington, of the despatch of a letter to Killigrew signifying the King's pleasure that *The Cheats* ‘be no more represented’ till it had been reviewed by Sir John Denham and Mr. Waller.

“The letter to Waller follows :—

S^r His Ma^{ty} beeing informed that there ware in a new Comedy latly acted at y^e Theater many things of a scandalous offensive nature hath Commanded mee to Signifie his Pleasure to you y^t you and Sir John Denham immediately send for y^e saide new play and reading it over together give jointly to his Ma^{ty} yo^r Opinion of it, that if there bee cause for it it may be supressed. Y^e pretended approbation it is said to haue had from his Ma^{ty} having I can assure you noe further ground thenn That a matter of twenty or thirty lines of it being showed him w^{ch} had been excepted against his Ma^{ty} was pleased to say if there had been nothing worse it may bee acted, adding further to the player, that their Company should take heed in this as in all their other Playes, to expose upon y^e Stage any thing y^t was either prophane Scandalous or Scurrilous observing which they should be protected & no longer.”—From an article on “Stage Censorship under Charles II.” Literary Supplement to the *Times*, Apr. 15, 1920.

II

SERVICE UNDER JAMES II

(1685—1688)

UPON the new reign Grafton's relations with the Crown underwent a complete change. Except for his reputation as a sailor, now almost submerged beneath the tortuous passions of a gloomy proselytism, James's character presented no attractions to the bold and straightforward temperament of his nephew; but for a time their intercourse was cordial, and Grafton did not prove slow to render signal service when the occasion offered.

His first public charge was to figure as Lord High Constable at the Coronation of the King and Queen on April 23rd. A few weeks later, Monmouth (landing at Lyme Regis, June 18th) made his desperate bid for the Crown—an adventure as brief as it was bloody—and Grafton won his spurs for knightly prowess. An undated and unsigned paper among the MSS. at Drayton House, which purports to be written by an eye-witness, gives a

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detailed account of the movements on both sides terminating in the Battle of Sedgemoor, and it has in the main been followed here, as the internal evidence seems to justify its trustworthiness. Monmouth was proclaimed King at Taunton on June 20th, and upon the same Saturday James's commander, Lewis de Duras, a naturalised Frenchman who had inherited through his wife the Earldom of Feversham, granted to her father, left London and marched to Maidenhead, whence, despatching Colonel Oglethorpe with a party to feel for the enemy on his left front by Andover and Warminster, he proceeded *viâ* Newbury and Chippenham to Bristol. He arrived by noon on Tuesday 23rd, and "spent that afternoon with the Dukes of Beaufort and Somerset, viewing the city." Thence, having determined to concentrate at Bath, he fell back to that town, where he was joined by some horse under Lord Oxford, and learning from Oglethorpe "that the Rebbells lay the last night at Shepton Mallet," sent him back with reinforcements to Philips Norton, which occupies an elevated position where the road between Frome and Bath is joined by a crossroad from Shepton Mallet. Here he came out himself in the afternoon, when the information reached him that Monmouth's army,

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extending itself across the north of Somerset, had entered Frome and fixed up the Pretender's proclamation, only to be torn down the following day when the place was temporarily re-occupied by Lord Pembroke with the Wiltshire militia. At midnight came information that the main body of Monmouth's army was at Pensford, six miles south of Bristol, where Feversham "marched back the horse under his command with great expedition and occupied the meadows to the S. of the city with his vedettes." Monmouth meanwhile moved on Keynsham, the bridge at which he had secured the morning before, "in order to attack Bristol *or pass for Gloster.*" This daring stroke was baffled by the news that Feversham was already in Bristol and that his army commanded the communications with Bath to the north of the Avon. A brisk affair between Oglethorpe and the rebels who had passed Keynsham decided Monmouth to remain on the south side. The skirmish is thus described by Charles Bertie, writing from London to the Countess of Rutland: "Our last intelligence from the West this morning gives us an account that Oglethorpe with his troop of Guards had engaged about one hundred of the enemy, whereof he had killed nearly 80 with the losse only of one man and my Lord

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Newburgh shott into the belly. Afterwards my Lord Churchill fell on the enemies rear and killed near 200 and took as many prisoners. This action happened near Gainsome (Keynsham)—Sir Thomas Bridge's house—within five miles of Bristoll and we are every moment expecting a further account and an intire defeat of Monmouth and the rebels, who would fain fight their way to Gloucester—if possible—but we have reason to believe they will cutt them off in the march and put an end to this shameful insurrection." Monmouth, however, moved eastward towards Bath, which he summoned by trumpet to surrender. "The towne refusing," he fell back to Philips Norton, while Feversham was returning by the north side of the river to Bath, "where he was met by the Duke of Grafton with the foot and the forces under Lord Churchill." Feversham having thus completed his immediate concentration, began to move south, preceded by a large troop of horse and 500 musketeers under Grafton, towards Philips Norton. His scouts declared that the place was strongly held, and a party sent forward to reconnoitre reported that the rebels were marching, or preparing to march. The intention being to clear the way to Frome, it was not certain that more could be attempted, when a man returned with an

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account that the advanced body was engaged. This was enough for Grafton, who at once pushed forward to its support.

The approaches from the north-west to Norton St. Philip, as it is now called, are to this day obscured by the height of the hedges and the sunken and devious character of the roads, while the buildings are of the solid Mendip type, almost like block-houses in strength. The information the General wanted could only be obtained at close quarters by a reconnaissance which promised a fierce struggle. Here was an enterprise dear to Grafton's daring and spirit of adventure ; the blood of the great Condottiere, Giovanni of the Black Bands,¹ was in his veins, and we may believe that impatience with Feversham's dilatory tactics fired his zeal. At any rate, though the force detailed for the thrust was below the standard of his military rank, he placed himself at the head of the party with the daredevil zest by which he was prompted on service by land or sea. The more desperate the job, the more determined his mood.

Forcing his way through a narrow lane held on both sides by the enemy, he reached the barricade

¹ Son of Caterina Sforza and father of the first Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose granddaughter, Marie de Medici, married Henry IV. of France, and was the grandmother of Charles II.



CHARLES II

From a miniature on the patent of the Duke of Grafton

1911
1912

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in the town under a heavy fire from the surrounding buildings. A squad of horse grenadiers and some musketeers were sent to his relief, but "the Rebels had by this time brought both horse and foot into the lane as well as the fields and passages that led to it," while with the force at his disposal no impression could be produced on the barricade. Thus cut off, Grafton and his men had to charge with the bayonet through the enemy's horse and foot, till they reached passages into the fields by which the musketeers could withdraw, Grafton and the mounted men forcing a highway directly through the lane.

Feversham, in his despatch to James from Bradford on the following day, thus refers to the episode : "Le Duc de Grafton, qui commandoit le détachement s'y est comporté avec un fort grande valeur. . . . Comme il revint à la barrière ou j'estois, il estoit fort essoufflé et avec raison, car il alla à la teste de la compagnie des grenadiers du regiment des gardes, qu'il commande, qui alla jusques à l'entrée du village ou il trouva un fort grand feu ;" during the retirement the Duke had his horse killed, whereupon, as the report proceeds, a quartermaster "voyant le Duc dans ce danger l'y offert son cheval, qu'il ne voulut pas prendre, mais trouva un autre cheval, qui estoit blessé, je crois, car quand il revint à la barrière, le

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cheval boitoit.” It was fitting that such a display of valour was not without the crowning touch of knightly grace.

So ended an exploit through which the leader passed unscathed, and had to his credit the only display of energy that marked the King’s forces. To this hour the scene of the struggle after the lapse of 235 years bears the name of the Duke’s alley. The remainder of the day’s operations is best described in the language of the Drayton House narrator.

“ In the meanwhile my Lord Churchill, by my Lord Feversham’s order, having secured the mouth of the Lane with his Dragoons and lyled the hedges on each side with foot, my Lord Feversham drew his horse up in Battail in an open ground that joyned to the Lane, and there commanded my Lord Churchill to come off with the foot and Dragoons. The rest of our foot, together with the Somersetshire, Dorsetshire and Oxfordshire Militia, commanded by my Lord Fitzharding, Sir William Portman, Collonel Strangnidge and Captain Barton, as they came in were drawne up and posted to the best advantage, while our canon which were planted on the left hand of the way, play’d on the Rebels, who having brought theirs behind a hedge by the mouth

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of the Lane, with horse and foot to defend it, both plaid upon one another for divers howers in the raine, killing some men on both sides.

“ The ground being wett, and our Armes too by the abundance of Raine that fell that day, prevented my Lord Feversham from encamping there that night as he intended, and having then no tents, about four in the evening drew off in order, without any interruption from the enemy, and marcht that night for Bradford after he had taken care of the wounded men and sent Collonell Oglethorpe with a party of 100 horse to observe the enemies motion.

“ We lost in this dayes action 20 men and some horses, and we have reason to conclude by the number of the dead buried there, the Rebels lost more, who that night after we were gon marcht away from Frome. We lay all Sunday in Bradford to cleare our armes and recover the fategue of the foregoing day.”

The next morning, Monday 29th, on news from Oglethorpe that Monmouth contemplated a move on Warminster, Feversham summoned his siege artillery from Devizes, the absence of which and of the means to encamp on the spot had decided him not to press the attack on Norton St. Philip, and marched to Westbury in order to frustrate the

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expected flank movement, for its success would have given the enemy the command of the Wylye valley and opened the way to Salisbury. On hearing this, Monmouth changed his direction to Shepton Mallet, retiring thither by Kilmersdon and the eastern Mendips, and withdrawing at the same time his outposts from Frome. It appears by a letter to Lord Dartmouth, from Westbury, under the hand of an artillery officer named Shere, that the guns were left at Devizes deliberately, "for," as he says, "the enemy motions are so irregular in a very bad and enclosed country, that it would be a great impediment to take them." In a letter dated the next day from Frome, Shere throws some interesting sidelights on the operations. "We thought to have marched this morning at day breake and accordingly our cannon and appurtenances were drawn out, but new counsels have begotten new measures, and I believe we shall not move till night. This has often been our lot of the artillery, to the unspeakable toil and harassing of both people and horses, and this we only endure of all the army, but we are bound to suffer it. The tents came very seasonably, for unless we encamp the country will be ruined, for we have been hitherto much their greater enemies than the rebels. In plain English,

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I have seen too much violence and wickedness practised to be fond of this trade, and trust we may soon put a period to the business, for what we every day practise among this poor people cannot be supported by any man of the least morality. The enemy lay in Wells last night, where they took a waggon of Kirke's with arms, ammunitions and money, which he pretends now he left there because he was forced to lend us his horses for the cannon, which is the greatest lie in the world and therefore, if any such thing be intimated, let this be an evidence against it. They marched to-day by 3 o'clock and are come to Glastonbury, and we believe are returning from whence they came, to Bridgewater. We learn by gentlemen that were prisoners that we did extraordinary execution with our cannon the other day."

Shere's reflections on the barbarity of war do him infinite credit and would have adorned a later age. It is clear from the last sentence that the affair at Norton St. Philip was the turning point of the campaign.

His project for moving east finally balked, Monmouth must have felt the game was up ; with no large force of mounted men and an army of peasants who were reluctant to go far from their homes, there was nothing left but to make such defence as

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was possible in that part of the country least favourable for the operations of cavalry. From Shepton Mallet he accordingly retired across the marshes east of Bridgewater, closely followed by Feversham, who occupied Shepton on July 5th, having entered Frome, as we have seen, with all his artillery two days before. Moving thence by Glastonbury to Somerton, it was ascertained that the enemy was preparing to hold Bridgewater, and on Sunday, July 5th, the march thither was resumed along the southern border of Sedgemoor, a wide expanse, stretching from east to west for ten miles below the Polden Hills, and, as its name implies, mainly composed of moss and swamp. The King's forces amounted to some 2,500 regular troops, of which 700 were cavalry with eighteen guns and a contingent of Wiltshire militia under Lord Pembroke; while the rebels had at least 7,000 under arms, but inferior in equipment and deficient in horse and artillery. However, the disparity of numbers made it prudent for Feversham to take every precaution against surprise, and this he did by securing the approaches across the marshy land in the direction of his camp now echeloned along the south-western extremity of Sedgemoor.

Oglethorpe, ever anxious to know what the enemy



SIEGE OF LUXEMBOURG, 1684
From a picture at Ammerdown in the possession of Lord Hylton

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was doing, and acting, as there is reason to think, on Grafton's suggestion, spent the early hours of the night scouting on the road to Bridgewater. In so doing he got behind Monmouth, who in the short summer darkness had made a *détour* to his left and was now threatening Feversham from the north by the narrow way which crosses the western end of the marsh. Oglethorpe, discovering the situation, when he reached the sentries left outside Bridgewater, turned at once to his right rear, from which quarter he was ultimately able to make an effective attack on the enemy's right flank. Meanwhile Lord Grey, in command of the bulk of Monmouth's horse, had come into touch with a portion of the King's cavalry under Sir Francis Compton, son of Lord Northampton, the heroic cavalier leader who died at Hopton Heath. Compton fell, shot in the breast, but his troops broke the attack and, assisted by the fire of an infantry detachment, threw all the rebel horse into disorder. To quote the eye-witness, who appears to have been in this part of the field, "We perceived them afterwards on the left of the foot in great confusion, endeavouring to forme, but could not, while two battalions of their foot (before whom they were designed to charge), came up within half musket shot of our camp ; but they having passed

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thro' a defile, where but a few could go abreast, were forced to halt a considerable tyme, to draw up themselves and the other three battalions with their three pieces of cannon in order." Grey's defeat, by some attributed to cowardice, determined the failure of Monmouth's offensive.

At this juncture the King's foot, with Churchill in supreme command and Grafton immediately under him directing the movements of the guards, were hurled upon the enemy's centre, which decided the fortunes of the day. Oglethorpe, who had now come up, at the same time charged the enemy's right, and the rest of the King's horse assailed their left flank. The test was too high for untrained and undisciplined troops, who had been marching all night and were not yet cheered by the full light of day. Two of their battalions, which had stood hitherto very well, gave ground in a body, and soon after fled, "leaving all their cannon in the hands of the attack." The authority we have been following continues: "While the Rebels run after the rest of their foot that had been scouring away for some tyme in the rear in great disorder and confusion, which only our troops near them were sensible off who durst not pursue them until 'twas light for fear of being knocked on the head by our own men,

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else but few of them had escaped us, for most of those who did escape were within an hour so dispersed that you could not see anywhere ten of their men living."

Oglethorpe, who in recognition of his signal services was charged with Feversham's message to the King, was able to report some 1,500 killed and 200 prisoners, which with the wounded must have represented a loss little short of half the combatant strength. Monmouth, who had hoped to preserve a retreat to Bristol, where he had many friends, and to that end had sent his carriages and one cannon to Axbridge, now realised the impossibility of the plan. Seeing his horse routed, he most unfortunately for his fame and that of Lord Grey, who followed his example, stripped himself of his armour and fled, "leaving most of the foot, especially the two battalions commanded by Collonell Fookes and Collonell Holmes, to be cut to pieces."

Monmouth was taken a few days later in the abject plight of a hunted fugitive, and upon July 15th expiated his offence on Tower Hill. Mr. Charles Bertie, writing to his niece the Countess (afterwards Duchess) of Rutland, gives a moving picture of the last scene. "Yesterday, about eleaven of the clock, the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth was executed

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on Tower Hill, having been assisted with Dr. Tenison and severall other divines and Bishops the night before. The Dutchesse his wife had the liberty to see him, in the presence of the Earl of Clarendon, whom he received very coldly, complaining that she had not done the part of a wife towards him at the late King his father's death, and told her he thought she did not show any great concern for him under his present misfortunes, and indeed seemed little desirous to speak or discourse with her, for his affections were chiefly sett upon my Lady Harriett Wentworth, with whom he confessed he had lived these two years as man and wife and thought himself the most happy man in the world saying that the Dutchesse was imposed upon him when he was very young and not by his own choice, and that she was his wife in law, but the other was his wife before God and in his own conscience, commending her vertue publickly on the scaffold and talking many things in her commendation. He also charged his servant to give her his ring as soon as he could. Yesterday morning before he died, they prevailed with him to speak to the Dutchesse and his children, which he did more freely than the day before, and charged his son to obey his mother, who would carefully bring him up in the Protestant



CHARLES II

From a picture in the possession of Sir A. FitzRoy

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring various notes, rests, and clefs. The notation is dense and appears to be a fragment of a larger musical score.

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religion, and thus he took his leave of them. Sir Stephen Fox, standing by, told him he was sorry to see him in this sad condition, to whom he replied, 'And so I am too, but since it is God Almighty's pleasure, I am going to perform his will.' The Divines refused to give him the Sacrament because of his converse with Lady Harriette. He openly declared a great assurance he had of being very happy as soon as this life was ended and was full of those enthusiasticall conceits. He carried himself with great sedateness of mind on the scaffold and told them he was not afraid of death and called for the axe and ran his thumb over the edge and believed it was sharp, praying the executioner not to mangle him as he did Lord Russell, but the rogue served him much worse, for striking two blows at him, he lay'd down the axe and was faine to take it up again and give him three more before he could sever his head from his body."

Thus closed an enterprise rashly undertaken and badly executed. Not that Monmouth's strategic conceptions were in the main faulty—witness the attempt to pierce the enemy's front by crossing the Avon at Keynsham, the later design to turn his left by a movement on Warminster, and the final effort to surprise Feversham by a night

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attack from an unexpected quarter. What failed him were the resources and the boldness to clothe initiative with tactical effectiveness. The last act of the tragedy was, it is true, ennobled by the sacrifice of hundreds whose heroism went unrecorded, but it lacked the final touch which would have surrounded the catastrophe with imperishable renown, if the leader of these obscure peasants and humble country gentlemen had selected to escape the ignominy of the scaffold by dying on the field with those he had conducted to an ineluctable doom.

On the royalist side two reputations had emerged conspicuously. The news letter published from Whitehall on the arrival of Oglethorpe's report, after eulogising Feversham's activity in being "everywhere present to give the necessary orders," proceeds: "My Lord Churchill, who commanded under him, gave all possible proof of courage and conduct. The Duke of Grafton, who commanded the foot, and all the officers and soldiers behaved themselves with all imaginable resolution and bravery." For the remainder of Grafton's brief career his name was to be closely associated with that of Churchill in political and military action.

A fortnight after Sedgemoor Grafton was back in London, for we learn from Evelyn that on July 20th

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he presided over a meeting of the Trinity House at which important privileges were granted, and "Mr. Pepys, Secretary to y^e Admiralty, was a second time chosen Master," the others present being Lord Dartmouth, Master of the Ordnance, the Commissioners of the Navy and brethren of the Corporation. "We went to church," Evelyn proceeds, "and then took barge to the Trinity House, where we had a great dinner, above 80 at one table."

Subsequently Grafton took his seat in Parliament on November 19th.

The ensuing winter saw the only burst of gaiety which gladdened the social life of London during the political storms of James's reign. In these festivities a leading part appears to have been taken by the young Duchess, who, now on the threshold of her twentieth year, had fully realised the fond anticipations of Evelyn. By the death of Arlington the preceding summer, she had succeeded to his titles with the fair domain of Euston, and her beauty and spirit attracted the universal homage of society.

Bridget Noel¹ writes to her sister Lady Rutland: "The Dutchesse of Grafton is counted the finest woman in town. I hear the Dutchesse has lodgings in Whitehall."

¹ Sister of the first Earl of Gainsborough.

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In a letter two months later (February, 1686) to the same lady, her uncle, Peregrine Bertie,¹ relates that "the great Ball or Masque att Court" has to be put off owing to Lady Anne Spencer being ill with small-pox," and goes on to tell the arrangements which were to have formed part of it. "There was to be in all twelve couple and the men to have the habits of the same country as their partners. The Duke of Northumberland and my Lady Grafton, Spaniards; my Lord Manchester and my Lady Derby, Grecians; my Lord Dunblane and Miss Fox, Moors; my Lord Litchfield and Lady Walgrave, shepherds. I have not yet heard of the other habits, but they were all given them by the Queen."

A sinister shadow was cast upon this mirth by the outbreak of an epidemic of duelling; "many bloody and notorious duels," as Evelyn puts it, "were fought about this time." Grafton was implicated in two affairs, both with fatal results, one in which a brother of Lord Shrewsbury was involved and another, scarcely a month later, with a brother of Lord Derby. Of the first, in the letter above quoted Peregrine Bertie says: "I just now heare of a great misfortune which has happened:

¹ Second son of second Earl of Lindsay, Vice-Chamberlain 1695.

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'tis that the Duke of Grafton and Jack Talbot have fought this morning at Chelsey Fields about some words that passed last night. Poore Mr. Talbot was runne through the heart and fell dead upon the place. The Duke was saved by a little buckle belonging to his belt, or some little picture hee wore about him. It seems they both thrust at the same time, Mr. Talbot's sword hitting on the buckle missed going through the Duke's body and ripped up his side. Duncombe was second to my Lord Grafton and Fitzpatrick to Mr. Talbot. I hear Duncombe is wounded, but, however, they say they are all fled."

In a second letter, dated February 11th, Peregrine Bertie adds: "As to publicke news, I heare the Duke of Grafton was yesterday bailed, and some say has already got his pardon." This is confirmed by the official abstract of Royal Pardons. Charles Bertie about the same time informs Lady Rutland: "Since the killing of Jack Talbot by the Duke of Grafton and another man by Harry Wharton, we hear of no more such sad misfortunes"—a premature exultation as it turned out, for on February 19th there occurred the fatal encounter with Mr. Stanley. In connection with this affair Evelyn declares that the victim was guilty of "an almost insufferable

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provocation," and piously adds : " It is to be hoped His Maj^{ty} will at last severely remedy this unchristian custom." No direct proof of the provocation is forthcoming in either case, but as the offender in each was a member of one of the oldest patrician houses, it is a plausible supposition that some slight was offered to Grafton's birth, an affront his daring and impetuous temper would be quick to resent.

Life at home in quiet times must have sorely fretted his restless spirit, and we find him a little later the leading agent, with his brother Northumberland,¹ in an attempt to spirit away the latter's wife,

¹ Of this brother Evelyn formed a favourable opinion. Upon their first meeting, October 24th, 1684, at the table of Sir Stephen Fox, he describes him as " a young gentleman of good capacity, well bred, civil and modest. Of all His Maj^{ty}'s children this seemed the most accomplished and worth the owning. He is extraordinarily handsome and well shaped."

Two months later he writes : " I went with Lord Cornwallis to see the young gallants at their exercise, M. Faubert (provost master of the Academie) having newly railed in a manège and fitted it for the Academy. There were the Dukes of Norfolk and Northumberland, Lord Newburgh and a nephew of Duras, Earle of Feversham. The exercises were : 1, running at the ring ; 2, flinging a javelin at a Moor's head ; 3, discharging a pistol at a mark ; lastly taking up a gauntlet at the point of a sword ; all these performed in full speed. The Duke of Northumberland hardly missed of succeeding in every one, a dozen times, as I think. The Duke of Norfolk did exceeding bravely. Lord Newburgh and Duras seemed nothing so dextrous. Here I saw the difference of what ye French call '*belle homme à cheval*' and '*bon homme à cheval*,' the Duke of Norfolk being the first, rather a fine person on a horse, the Duke of Northumberland

THE
GEORGE
INN



THE GEORGE INN, NORTON ST. PHILIP, OCCUPIED BY MONMOUTH

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a woman of lowly birth of whom her husband was tired. Again Peregrine Bertie, in a letter to Lady Rutland, supplies some information: "We have received an account of the two Dukes (Northumberland and Grafton) having safely arrived at Ostende. As soon as they return they will be taken into custody by the Lord Chief Justice's warrant and must give bail for their appearance or go to prison." Some compromise, however, was reached, as nothing more is said of the affair beyond a note in a letter to the Duke of Albemarle: "Our two Dukes of Grafton and Northumberland are returned from Flanders, where they have left the new Duchess in a nunnery. They say she was willing to stay, and her friends here are willing she should do so." At any rate, Grafton's position in his uncle's esteem was not seriously shaken by the escapade, and in the summer of 1687, upon the Duke of Somerset refusing to have anything to do with the introduction of Monseigneur D'Adda, the Papal Nuncio, he gratified James by accepting the charge and conducted the Nuncio through London.

James was now to provide him with a commission which flattered his ambitions and suited his being both, in perfection, namely a graceful person and excellent rider. But the Duke of Norfolk told me he had not been at this exercise these twelve years before."

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seafaring tastes. Tangier had been surrendered to the Moors owing to the expense of maintenance before Charles's death, but the step was not intended to cover any relaxation of Britain's hold on naval interests in the Mediterranean, and when James, following his brother's example, determined to send a fleet into those waters, he naturally turned to Grafton as its commander in what had been the theatre of his naval education. Possibly in some fear of prematurely exciting the suspicion of the Mediterranean powers, secrecy was observed upon the destination of the fleet, for the idea was "put about" that the western coast and the islands of Jersey and Guernsey were to be the objects of the cruise. However, the number of ships collected at Portsmouth and the amount of stores put on board discredited that rumour, and all doubt was removed by Grafton's appointment on July 5th as Admiral of the Fleet ordered to the Mediterranean. Lord Dartmouth, First Commissioner of the Admiralty, thus intimated the arrangement to Sir Roger Strickland, commanding on that sea: "The Duke of Grafton goes from Lisbon to command in the straits, and you come home to command in the narrow seas, where you cannot fear of a squadron fit to wear your flag."

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Grafton's first duty was to convoy Maria Sophia of Neuburg, the betrothed Queen of Pedro II., King of Portugal, from Rotterdam to Lisbon. On the 12th the Duke with the yachts reached Brill after a very stormy and uncomfortable passage, and having received the Queen on board, sailed for Portugal, but was obliged, on encountering foul winds at the mouth of the Channel, to put into Plymouth upon the 23rd of the same month. The wind hauling to the north the next day, Grafton, his flag hoisted on the *Anne*, again sailed with his royal charge and entered the Tagus after a passage of seven days.

The only incident of note on the passage was the encounter on the 30th with a vessel plying between the Burlings and the shore which by her manner of working excited some suspicion. The Duke detached the frigates *Hampshire* and *Sedgemoor* to discover what she was, when she proved to be the *Orange Tree* of Algiers, a new ship of forty guns, with 350 men on board, commanded by the brother-in-law of the Dey of Algiers ; but on the production of their pass signed by the English Consul, the ships parted with the usual marks of friendship, receiving and returning salutes. Grafton was received at Lisbon with the highest honours, "as well," according to one chronicler, "in consequence of the

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personal respect borne to his character and rank, as to the consideration of the national compliment paid by the Court of Great Britain to that of Portugal."

The *London Gazette* thus records the fashion of what passed: "The Master of the King's household was sent to escort his Grace the Duke of Grafton ashore to an apartment provided for him, which he excused upon the directions he had from his M^{ty} to continue on board. On August 4th His Grace had his audience of His Maj^{ty}, which was deemed then a particular mark of esteem, none of the foreign ministers having been till after that time admitted to see the King. Don Juan de Souza was sent to bring the Duke in one of the King's barges, the Portuguese Men-of-War saluting him as they passed. The Duke, with Mr. Fitzjames¹ and Lord O'Brien, the commanders of the squadron, and the other gentlemen, landing at the new bridge made for the Queen, were conducted to the King's apartment, the guards standing at arms and the drums beating. His Grace was welcomed by the King with great kindness, and his compliments returned with large expressions, how sensible the King was of the marks of his Maj^{ty}'s friendship, particu-

¹ James Fitzjames Duke of Berwick (1670—1734), son of James II. and Arabella Churchill.

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larly of his last obliging instance of it in sending his Grace to conduct the Queen. The Duke then presenting Mr. Fitzjames, the King directed himself more particularly to him, and received also very kindly Lord O'Brien, the Commanders of the ships and the rest that were presented to his Maj^{ty} at the same time. Thence the Duke was conducted to his audiences of the Queen and Infanta ; none being admitted with him but Mr. Fitzjames and the officers belonging to the ceremony ; which being done, they were all carried in the King's coaches to the Palace, where there was a very noble entertainment provided, the King's servants attending, and on the same night there was a great quantity of all sorts of fresh provisions sent on board to be distributed among the ships. The Duke had several other invitations given him, all which he excused. On the 8th the King's presents were sent, which were a sword and cane set with diamonds for the Duke and a jewel of value for Mr. Fitzjames. On the 10th his Grace was conducted to his audiences of leave with the same ceremonies and entertainments."

It is manifest from this account that Grafton governed his action by the strictest regard of his obligations to the fleet under his command and did not allow the seductions of Portuguese hospitality

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to interfere with the primary duty of one charged with an important naval and political mission.

Having fulfilled his immediate object, the Duke sailed with his squadron for Gibraltar on August 13th, where he met one who was to be his opponent on a great occasion, for a French squadron entered the Bay under the Chevalier de Tourville, and the commanders exchanged complimentary visits. At the conclusion of a short stay, he proceeded to Algiers. He was received with the greatest respect and attention. His forceful and impressive personality captured the Oriental imagination, "the Dey giving him every assurance of his wish to continue in peace and friendship with the English and presenting him with several English persons who had been made prisoners during the former war."

In a case heard before the House of Lords in 1692, it appeared that one of the parties, having suffered detention and the confiscation of his ship at the hands of the Dey, owed his release to the spirited action of the Duke of Grafton, who, on hearing of his plight, "manned his boat and sent to the Governour demanding the surrender of the man, which so alarmed the country," that he was immediately given up.

This pacific and liberating part of his instruc-

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tions thus happily fulfilled, Grafton sailed on October 6th in order to complete the execution of his orders. At Tunis, and afterwards at Tripoli, he received the same honours and met with the same success. In proceeding from one to the other a detour was made to Cagliari in the island of Sardinia to take in fresh water. Here the Viceroy, the Duke of Monteleone, a Neapolitan, extended marked honour to Mr. Fitzjames, receiving him with the discharge of twenty-one guns, and understanding it to be His Majesty's birthday he was desirous to solemnise it with a great entertainment and a ball, to which he would have invited the Duke of Grafton and his principal officers, but the "wind presenting fair" the Admiral with his habitual sense of nautical duty insisted on sailing that evening, his departure being saluted with the discharge of forty pieces of cannon. On his return voyage, at Malta, at Messina, at Malaga, and at every other port where the squadron touched, the governors and inhabitants of each place seemed to vie with each other which should most distinguish themselves by the honour and attention paid to the illustrious representative of the English King.

From Messina to Malaga the course lay by Leghorn, where Grafton's arrival was saluted by the

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discharge of 100 guns, in compliment it may be to his Florentine descent. The visit to Malaga has a special description quite in the modern style from a "reporter" on board the *Anne*. The party from the fleet was received on landing by the Governor and magistrates with whom were a dozen coaches, a guard of honour of thirty horse and the town militia consisting of eight companies. A reception took place at the Consul's house and on the departure of the Governor, the Bishop of Malaga (natural son of Philip IV.) with several persons of the first rank and quality presented themselves. The official visits were subsequently returned and the Governor completed his courtesies by sending on board "a very handsome present of fresh provisions." On reaching Gibraltar, the report proceeds, "His Grace meeting there with the confirmation of the happy news of Her Majesties being with child, for joy thereof commanded the same evening that all the ships should fire their cannon, which being done the commanders came on board the Duke to express their congratulations upon this solemn occasion."

Grafton's reception from James at his return, which took place on March 19th, 1688, was as flattering as that accorded him by foreign nations during his absence. In a voyage lasting nearly



EARL OF ARLINGTON, BY LELY

From the picture at Euston

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

| Trial | Control (n=10) | MCI (n=10) | AD (n=10) |
|-------|----------------|------------|-----------|
| 1 | 85 | 75 | 65 |
| 2 | 80 | 70 | 60 |
| 3 | 75 | 65 | 55 |
| 4 | 70 | 60 | 50 |
| 5 | 75 | 65 | 55 |

SERVICE UNDER JAMES II

nine months and covering the stormiest part of the year, he had traversed 5,000 miles of sea without, as it appears, a casualty to his ships or even the loss of a single spar.

A social event recorded in Peregrine Bertie's correspondence with Lady Rutland about this time may refer to an entertainment designed in compliment to his success. "There was a ball," he says, "lately at my Lord Sunderland's (the Secretary of State); the women were the D^{esse} of Grafton, my Lady Brandon, Mrs. Mason and two of the Maids of Honour: the men, the Dukes of Grafton and Northumberland, Lord Arran, Mr. Boyle, and one Camell, a Scottish man."

James's relations with his people had in the past year undergone a great change for the worse. There was now little disguise of his intention by arbitrary and, if necessary, illegal means to impair the authority of Parliament and give to the adherents of the Catholic Church a position at variance with statutory right, and Grafton, though, as Burnet said, not much of a politician, still less of a churchman, had the good sense to see that such courses, if continued, would endanger the throne. The instinct for national safety drove a man of his straightforward mind into the ranks of the opposition.

III

DYNASTIC REVOLUTION

(1688—1690)

THE popular enthusiasm which hailed the acquittal of the seven bishops had behind it all the material of a dynastic revolution, which nothing but James's blindness and infatuation could have failed to discover. The birth of a son to the King and Queen on June 10th had already stimulated the negotiations of the Whig lords with William, and they now sent him a formal invitation, to which Compton, Bishop of London, one of the acquitted prelates and a brother of Lord Northampton, set his hand. As the year wore on the situation became daily more menacing. By the beginning of October it was known in London that William had collected a fleet in readiness to act, and that Dartmouth was in command of the King's ships assembled at the Nore to dispute his passage. James, at last alive to the plight to which his follies had reduced him, and staggered by the conviction that there was little

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support in the country upon which he could rely, began hastily by Proclamation and Orders in Council to revoke the illegalities and abuses of prerogative to which he had resorted, but it was too late ; the fidelity of both army and navy had been too severely shaken, and James was not the man to recover lost ground.

Perhaps his most memorable effort to put himself right with his people was the summons of a special meeting of the Privy Council, to which was added a number of prominent peers (including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Norfolk, Grafton and Ormond, and the Marquess of Halifax), the Lord Mayor of London, the Judges and the Law Officers of the Crown, before whom the King made a solemn declaration affirming in the most emphatic terms the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, which was further attested by the sworn depositions of no less than forty persons, from the Queen Dowager to the midwife and her attendants.

There was some pathos in the King's avowal that as he had often aforetime ventured his life for the nation, he thought himself more obliged thereto now he was King and intended to go in person against the invader and might thereby be exposed to accidents, and therefore wished this done in order

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to satisfy the minds of his subjects and prevent the kingdom being engaged in blood and confusion after his death.

Emerging from her retirement, Queen Catherine was present to testify "that when the King sent for her to attend the Queen's labour she came as soon as she could and never stir'd from her until she was delivered of the Prince of Wales."

Lady Sunderland ¹ told the Council that, it being Trinity Sunday, she went to St. James's Chapel in order to receive the sacrament at eight o'clock, when, so urgent was the call, a second messenger reached her on the steps of the altar, and she at once repaired to the Queen's bedchamber, whom she found already in labour.

It is doubtful whether these announcements had the expected effect, so diligently had the perversion of fact been instilled into the public mind.

On the very day of this meeting, October 22nd, Dartmouth, in a letter to the King from the *Resolution* at Ouze Edge, after describing the victualling of the fleet and the filling up of stores, towards which, at a meeting of "the Flagges and Captaines" on board his own ship, he had urged all despatch,

¹ Anne Countess of Sunderland, daughter of George Digby, second Earl of Bristol, by Anne, daughter of fourth Earl of Bedford.

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proceeds to discuss the state of the fleet. "I had some hints," he says, "of dissatisfaction in some young men," and mentions one or two of whom he is distrustful. "The Duke of Grafton," he adds, "was down here among them a little after my coming, though he would not let me know it." A curious confession on the part of the Commander-in-Chief, and inconsistent, we shall see later, with the Admiralty record. He concludes with these significant words: "I look upon most of the commanders to be men of honour and will peek¹ them that we are to be steady to your service, tho' I feare they have other advices and still think all our mischiefes spring directly or indirectly from the old conduct at Whitehall. This I believe Your Maj^{ty} suffers more of, and it is fitt I should endure my share; but nothing shall discourage me from doing my utmost wherever I am, and by God's help all will be well. We are generally in good heart."

The suspicion of Grafton's good faith here insinuated becomes a definite charge in a confession alleged to have been made by the Duke to Lord Dover, that the visit paid by him to the fleet just before the landing of the Prince was for the express purpose of influencing the several commanders to

¹ Obsolete = pique, excite to action, challenge.

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declare against King James, in which he was so successful as to gain the positive promise of two-thirds. He is, moreover, said to have owned to being privy to Churchill's design of seizing the person of Dartmouth and carrying the fleet over to the Prince. Clarke's "Life of James II.," a sour polemic with an inadequate hero, adopts the alleged confession to Lord Dover and fits it into the laboured statement of King James's memoirs that Grafton, in vexation at not obtaining command of the fleet, went down before the Prince of Orange sailed and endeavoured to corrupt the commanders, with the result stated, and that he had formed the design of entrapping Dartmouth on board Captain Hastings' ship (where he was serving as a volunteer) and having him seized.

This unsupported fiction and the subsequent hesitancies of Dartmouth—the conflicts which Lady Dartmouth discloses between his religion and loyalty—are quoted as sufficient evidence of Grafton's cold-blooded treachery.

Charnock, in his "Biographia Navalis" (published 1795), makes these comments: "We do not, however, think an implicit belief is to be paid to the truth of this pretended confession, for it does not appear to have been made public till after the Duke's



ISABELLA DUCHESS OF GRAFTON

From the picture at Hardwick

Figure 1 displays four diagrams illustrating the possible orientations of a 2D lattice. The diagrams are arranged in a 2x2 grid. Each diagram shows a square lattice with axes labeled 'x' and 'y'. The top-left diagram shows a standard square lattice. The top-right diagram shows a square lattice with a diagonal axis labeled 'z'. The bottom-left diagram shows a square lattice with a diagonal axis labeled 'z'. The bottom-right diagram shows a square lattice with a diagonal axis labeled 'z'.

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decease, or to have been properly confirmed by the open testimony of those officers with whom he is said to have tampered. If the confession alluded to was really made by the Duke of Grafton, he certainly must have possessed a much greater share of hypocrisy and deceit than we can think could ever obscure so great, so gallant and so noble a character in every other sphere. On that ground we hope, for the honour of human nature, Lord Dover's report was at least exaggerated."

We are not, however, left to the inconsistency of such action with all we know of Grafton's repugnance to furtive methods, a repugnance which found expression in an honesty of temper that some described as rough, for the Historical Manuscripts Commission have brought to light an official minute to Lord Dartmouth signed by Samuel Pepys and dated October 27th: "I just now find by the King's discourse with me and directions for the immediate supplying of the Duke of Grafton with a shallop, *that the Duke has his leave to go on board Capt. Hastings' ship as a volunteire*, to be present at whatever action shall arrive at sea, with a promise (if he escapes it alive) to get ashore as soon as the Dutch can and be in timely readiness to discharge his duty to the King there also." Nothing could

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be clearer or more conclusive. Grafton, with his invincible *élan* and thirst for adventure in either service, was ready to take his chance in a naval action against superior forces, and if he escaped (a characteristic touch) to risk his life a second time ashore, and James, it is obvious, believed him. It does not surprise us to learn from his memoirs that James, with this incident fresh in his mind, when urged to send both Grafton and Churchill to Portsmouth under lock and key, "upon further consideration thought fit not to do it."

Further confirmation of this view is to be found in Dartmouth's official reply of October 28th to Pepys' minute of the previous day, which acknowledges the intimation of the Duke's design and proceeds: "I doubt not he will acquaint himself of his duty, but whether it will not be a probable impediment to the service—he hopes also to be ready for shore—I will not pretend to judge of." There is no repetition here of the suspicious tone manifest in the earlier letter to James. Grafton did *not* pay two visits to the fleet, and Dartmouth's earlier misgiving must be dismissed as based upon mere gossip, with which the atmosphere was rife. A lively letter from Katherine Powlett to Lady Margaret Russell at Woburn dated November 3rd

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gives a faithful picture of the state of feeling in London, "for everybody missing but for two or three dayes we say heare is gon to the P. of Orange." She advises her friend to come to London instead of going to Chenies, where Lady Essex, whose house is not far off, says there are so many soldiers about, "she talked of coming to London for fear of them." The writer continues that Lady Sunderland, whose husband had been suspected of betraying the King, had gone to Althorpe with her daughter, "and sighs and groans sadley the P. of O. has undone the nation," and then proceeds: "The wind has been so long fair for them and we heare nothing of them, that I begin to think we shall not see them at all, though the newse is that they sett saile on Tuesday, some say not till Wed^r, and that we can't probably heare of them before to-morrow. Some will nott beleve theare losses (in a storm) have been soe great as was saide. Lord Dartmouth has positive orders to fight them. Duke of Grafton is gon downe to the fleet a vollantare."

Dartmouth prudently did not fight, but proceeded in the wake of the Dutch fleet till it reached Torbay on November 3rd, and then bore up for Portsmouth, of which the Duke of Berwick was governor. Disgusted at inaction, Grafton returned

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to London on the 12th, which he found a prey to divided counsels and abject fears. He at once determined that only through the expression of the national will by the recognised means lay any hope of safety, and, with the two Archbishops and the other Protestant peers in London, signed a petition to King James, which they presented in person :

“ That in deep sense of the miseries of war they thought themselves bound in conscience and out of the duty they owed to God and their holy religion, most humbly to offer to his Majesty that in their opinion the only visible way to preserve H.M. and his Kingdom would be the calling of a Parliament regular and free in all respects.”

James replied with great acrimony, especially towards the prelates, and turning upon Grafton, whose name stood next to Sancroft, addressed him most violently :

“ You know nothing about religion, you care nothing about it, yet forsooth you must pretend to have a conscience.” Grafton replied with ready frankness : “ It is true, Sir, I don’t pretend to much conscience, but I belong to a party that have a great deal.”

Charnock, discussing his subsequent conduct, regards his action here as a moderate step inconsistent

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with the character of a man violent enough at another time to act in the manner described, “ and so forms a sufficient ground to doubt the authenticity of that particular narration, while that part of his conduct which immediately followed was much more reconcilable to the character of a man of honour than the former would have been.”

The action of Grafton in this respect, and indeed in his whole public conduct at this date, is that of a man who eagerly sought some middle term between unqualified support of James and his violent deposition ; even to the last, on the debate in the House of Lords “ whether the throne being vacant it ought to be filled up by a regent or a king,” at the risk of offending the Prince, to whom alone he could look for employment and promotion, he was one of the forty-nine who voted for a regent. Young in years—just twenty-five—and inexperienced in politics, he was governed by the straightforward instincts of a soldier seaman to cut the tangle in the most direct manner. At the Council of Officers held in London on the eve of James’s departure for Salisbury, at which the unhappy King made a moving appeal to their fidelity, Grafton joined Churchill in strong expressions of loyalty. In the case of Grafton there is no reason to doubt their

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sincerity. A few days with the army stripped him of the last vestige of confidence that anything was to be achieved through its agency ; the keen eye of the soldier saw its hopelessness as an instrument of force, or even of negotiation, and we are justified in believing that, as before he had been disgusted with the failure of the fleet, he now left Salisbury with Churchill because of his contempt for the pusillanimity and confusion which reigned supreme in the counsels of James. The King, indeed, had reached a point when all capacity for direction vanished. His doubts and hesitations, the resolution to act and the recoil from action, his vacillations and misgivings, were the sinister proceeds of a darkened spirit brooding over its own distempers. At any rate, the Prince of Orange was a man who knew his own mind and was guided by high policy, bringing promptitude and resolution to the grasp of its fruits.

It was the decision of the Council of General Officers to fall back on London, with its inevitable effect of dissolving the loyal elements in the army, which, whatever the value of Churchill's formal plea of conscientious scruples based "on a high and necessary concern for Religion," finally determined Grafton's conviction that the game was up and that



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Vice-Admiral of England

Figure 1 is a 3D surface plot showing the distribution of the number of non-zero elements in the vector x . The horizontal axes are labeled x and y , both ranging from 0 to 10. The vertical axis represents the probability density, ranging from 0 to 0.001. The surface shows a central peak around $x=10$ and $y=10$, with the density decreasing as x and y move away from this center. The surface is relatively flat in some regions, indicating a low probability of certain configurations.

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the only chance of securing what the nation desired was to rally to the Prince of Orange.

The example thus set was soon followed by such devoted adherents of the House of Stuart as the chivalrous Ormond, and Dartmouth himself, not to mention another of James's nephews in the person of the Duke of Northumberland.

Desertions are always odious, but moments arrive when considerations of national safety override all others, and the flight from Salisbury was at least free from the implications of calculated treachery which gave Henry VII. the victory on the field of Bosworth.

On Grafton's arrival at Axminster, the Prince of Orange treated him with marked confidence, and when James withdrew the first time from Whitehall, the Duke was despatched from the Prince's camp at Henley to take possession of Tilbury fort with his regiment of foot guards, a service performed with creditable smartness.

Pending the election of the new Parliament, the House of Lords, as the only branch of the legislature in being, appears to have exercised the functions of Government, and we find Grafton's name attached with others to a notice published in the *London Gazette* of December 22nd in these words :

HENRY DUKE OF GRAFTON

“We the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled in this Extraordinary Conjuncture Do appoint Francis Gwyn, Esquire, for Us and in Our names to sign and subscribe such Orders as shall be from time to time by Us made.”

About this time he was fired at by a drunken trooper, who was immediately shot. He was next concerned with the surrender of Portsmouth, the only strong place still faithful to the fugitive King. A letter informs Lord Dartmouth that the Duke of Berwick, governor of Portsmouth for King James, having intimated that he had the King's orders to deliver up the town as soon as any of the Prince's troops came, the Duke of Grafton's quartermaster brought news that twenty-one companies of the guards under the Duke were to be there that night to relieve the garrison, upon which all the regiments were drawn up on parade expecting orders, but none came. Early in January some 250 discharged dragoons were brought into the town under escort, and it was stated that the Duke of Grafton, who was expected in a day or two, would send them to the Isle of Wight. All the work of this kind entrusted to him seems to have been efficiently and faithfully discharged, his great popularity with the army facilitating the transfer of allegiance. Insensibly he

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was won over to the conviction that the sense of the country was against any compromise. Too wise and too honourable to oppose or intrigue against the popular wish, he hesitated no longer, and with every appearance of being actuated by the highest considerations of public policy, he resolved to acknowledge the Prince and Princess of Orange as King and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, thereby refuting all the gossip that imputed disaffection. At the coronation of their Majesties on April 11th, Grafton carried the orb.

Subsequently, by the machinations of persons interested in prejudicing his position with the King, he was deprived of his honourable and lucrative command, and then showed of what magnanimity he was capable. "Though severely mortified," says Macaulay, "he behaved like a man of sense and spirit; bent on proving that he had been wrongly suspected and animated by an honourable ambition to distinguish himself in his profession," he obtained the King's permission to return to the sea at least in command of his old ship the *Grafton*. William knew his value on this element, and the alacrity with which he accepted an inferior position removed the last shadow of the King's distrust. So complete was the restored confidence, that a

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news letter of May 7th, 1690, states : “ The Duke of Grafton was last night four hours in private with the King, and this morning went to view the fleet in harbour.”

This was probably the last time they met. The King was henceforward immersed in fitting out and equipping the expedition to Ireland, while Grafton, on board his command, was nursing his impatience at Torrington's dilatory preparations to meet the French fleet. William embarked on June 20th, and on the following day Tourville put out to sweep the narrow seas, effectually stopping William's convoy of six ships, which, on the arrival of the expedition at Carrickfergus, were directed to join Torrington with all possible despatch. If French naval strategy had been equal to the conception of intercepting the communications between England and Ireland, Tourville's fleet might have been utilised with more decisive effect in the Irish Sea. As it was, Tourville found Torrington, who was lying off the Isle of Wight, so unprepared to meet him that the English admiral spent the first days at sea in withdrawing to the eastward in order to pick up such reinforcements as he could. Compelled by peremptory orders from William in Ireland to bring the French fleet to action, he had no choice

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but to risk an encounter, though his fleet at the most numbered sixty sail against seventy of the enemy. However wanting to the credit of the British commander and his fleet as a whole, the events which ensued covered Grafton with renown as a daring seaman and no mean naval tactician.

Torrington was one of those careful and meticulous commanders whose greatest ingenuity lay in finding excuses to avoid serious action ; a contemporary critic describes him as " a man of good understanding, but profoundly luxurious and on every occasion so sullen and peevish that it was plain he valued himself much and expected the same from others ; and it was thought his private quarrel with Lord Dartmouth, for having more of the King's confidence than himself, was the root of his resentment against His Majesty. The reputation he had gained with the people of England and his skill in naval affairs, made it necessary to endeavour to keep him in good temper, so far as homage and observance could do." This character study affords some clue to the obscure situation created by Torrington's long inactivity. A note of impatience had been sounded nine months before in a news letter of September 16th, 1689 : " Our fleet continues at Torbay, having taken in several Dutch forces, with

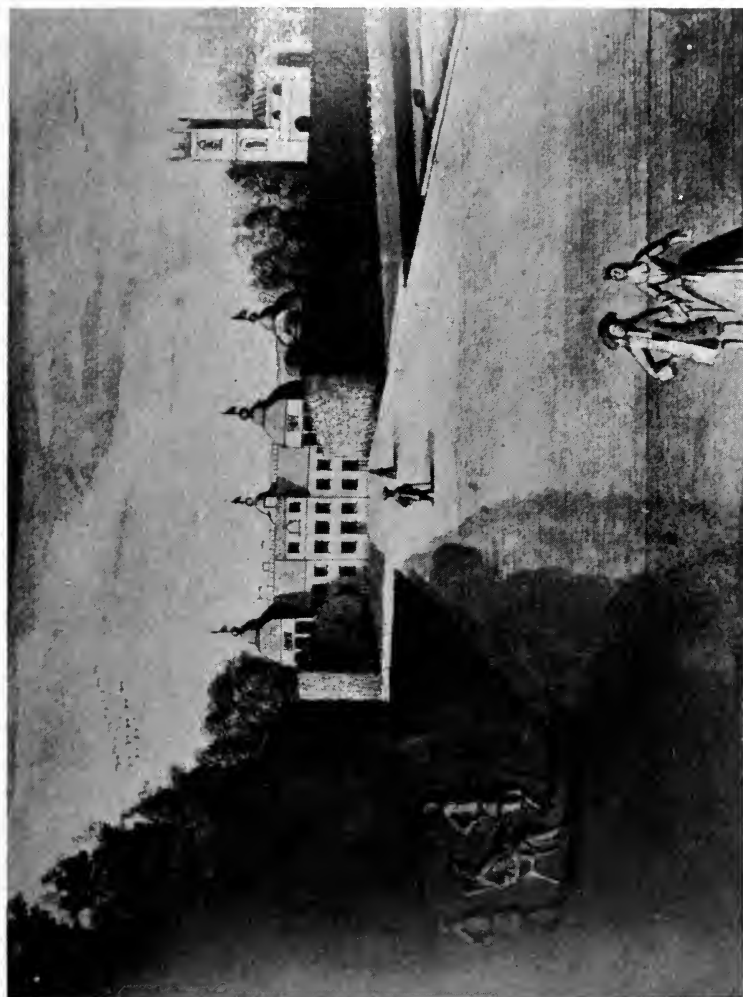
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whom the E. of Torrington is going again to sea upon some great enterprise." This enterprise never came off, and as months of inaction passed, the air was full of suspicions of the admiral's loyalty and rumours were rife of his impending supersession, if not arrest. No step of the kind was indeed taken, but in the light of what followed there may have been more in these rumours than William at the moment cared to take note of. At any rate, after Beachy Head, upon five commissioners being sent down to examine the captains on oath, a news letter informs the public, "it is assured that some of them charge the Earl of Torrington with neglect and want of conduct, having had four hours' opportunate time to come to close fight which would have ruined the enemy."

On July 10th, Torrington, according to his orders, came in touch with the French, and being to windward with the wind N.E., formed his fleet in line abreast and bore down upon the enemy, who were proceeding across his front with their van converging somewhat towards his right and their centre inclined to bulge outwards. Tourville awaited the attack in single column line ahead, with fore-topsails aback or nearly motionless.

The movement of the allies in line abreast

THE CITY OF COLUMBIA



EUSTON HALL AND CHURCH (1717)

From an old drawing

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resulted in an irregular and ill-concerted approach ; the Dutch on the right were the first in action with the French van, but Torrington failed to attack vigorously with the centre, "refusing" it with a view, it is supposed, to arrest any design of the French to double on his rear. "If that were his purpose," says Mahan, "his plan, though tolerably conceived, was faulty in detail," its only effect being to create a large gap in his line, separating him not only from the Dutch, now hotly engaged, but from his own starboard vessels under Ashby. Meanwhile Tourville made the most of the want of pressure on the rest of his line to send six of his ships ahead, when they went about and placed the Dutch between two fires. Grafton, whose position was towards the right of the centre, had with his usual impetuosity outstripped his consorts, and, under all the sail he could carry, now found himself with one other ship practically isolated. Without a moment's pause, satisfied that he could not do better than put his ship into the flash and fury of the battle, he hauled to the wind and went to the assistance of the sorely pressed Dutch, bursting upon the enemy's ships, which now surrounded them, with headlong onset and fine tactical audacity. One captain followed him, and their intervention undoubtedly saved from

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destruction what remained of the Dutch squadron. Happily the wind fell to a dead calm, and the allied ships, knowing the direction of the tides better than their opponents, had the inspiration to anchor with sails set, when the strength of the ebb, which was setting S.W., carried the French out of action. Tourville finally anchored a league from the enemy.

With the flood the allied fleet stood to the east. Tourville proved too circumspect in his pursuit, preferring to maintain his line instead of ordering a general chase, when many of the allied ships must have been captured. It was his first general action as Commander-in-Chief; he had won what an English expert on board the flagship called the most complete naval victory ever gained, and, like Hotham, a century later, but with much more reason, thought that he had done enough. Tourville, however, amply vindicated his claim to be a great commander when, a year later, with a force half the strength of the allies, he came out of the Battle of La Hogue without the loss of a single ship.

Torrington took his fleet into the Thames and evaded further pursuit by removing the buoys: he had lost sixteen ships and the French one. Among the slain on board the flagship was Torrington's favourite dog, which prompted the irreverent to

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say the dog died like an admiral but the admiral lived like a dog.

There was little to gratify English pride in the event, and public applause at once fastened upon Grafton as the hero of the day. Lady Nottingham, wife of the second Earl, at that time Secretary of State, writing to her father, Lord Hatton, declared ecstatically that he had won immortal glory. John Verney, who was present, in a letter to his father, Sir Ralph, says : " The Dutch could not keep so near the wind to the East, so the enemy ships lay upon them ; seven of them were disabled and one they sank themselves, but they took out three boat-loads of men. The Duke of Grafton gave them great assistance ; the Duke and one Captain Dorvell fought most bravely. I've thought we fought at too great distance ; the enemy's brass guns carry further than our iron ones."

On the evening of the day of the action a news letter from Dover states : " The Duke of Grafton reports that if the whole fleet had engaged, we had certainly beaten the French."

It is interesting to speculate what might have happened if William had shown the boldness, or perhaps the magnanimity, to give Grafton the supreme command : we may at least feel sure that

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the only conflict which stains the annals of the long maritime struggle with France would have had a different result. Charnock sums up Grafton's contribution to the fight in these words : " He distinguished himself during this unfortunate and unequal conflict in no less eminent a degree than might well be expected from a man of his well-known courage and gallantry."

Torrington was deprived of the command and committed to the Tower. He was eventually tried by court martial and obtained a verdict of acquittal, but was never employed again. The evidence was of the usual contradictory character. John Neville, commanding the *Sovereign*, which carried Torrington's flag, said in evidence : " About eleven we saw some French ships had weathered the Dutch. I asked the Admiral whether he would suffer them to weather him also. He answered, not if he could help it, and ordered the fore-tack aboard and that we should luff to the eastward : by these means we got to windward of the *Grafton* and hardly cleared the *Albemarle*." It was also affirmed on behalf of the Admiral that during part of the action he was engaged at half cannon shot. On the other hand, suspicions were entertained of disloyal conduct. One contemporary letter says roundly : " As soon



ISABELLA DUCHESS OF GRAFTON WITH HER SON

From the picture at Euston

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as the Dutch ships engaged, it fell calm and the rest of the Fleet could not come up to assist them. Our Fleet was separated by design and treachery."

Grafton's services were recognised, as we shall see later, by an autograph letter from William, which seems to have been expressed with more warmth than that frigid person generally allowed himself. Popular appreciation was displayed by a paragraph in the London news letter of July 12th : "It is believed that the Duke of Grafton, Sir R. Haydock and Sir John Ashby are to exercise the office of Admiral on Commission."

That, however, was not to be, perhaps fortunately, though two months later, when a naval expedition was despatched to Ireland with the military forces assigned for the reduction of Cork and Kinsale under Marlborough, Grafton was entrusted with the command of a part of the fleet, and Churchill paid him the compliment of selecting his ship for his own quarters and issued his orders therefrom.

IV

EPITAPH OF FAME

THE shadows are now about to draw over the brilliant career we have been at some pains to depict. After Grafton had spent a fortnight with his wife at Euston, the last episode opens with an entry in Evelyn's diary of August 1st. "The Duke of Grafton came to visite me, going to his ship at the mouth of the river on his way to Ireland, where he was slain." The ship, after the hard knocks received in the late battle, was undergoing a complete overhaul and her captain threw himself into the work of preparing her for sea with his customary energy. This completed, he joined the rest of the fleet at Portsmouth, where it was detained by contrary winds for some time. William had meanwhile returned to London, where the call of the situation on the Continent created by the League of Augsburg required his presence. His impatience to see the results of the Boyne completed in the south-west of Ireland is reflected in a message from Marlborough dated October 16th, on board H.M.S. *Grafton*, to

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the Admirals of the Fleet, Haydock, Killigrew and Ashby : “ Ordered by the King to send him express intelligence of the time appointed for the sailing of the Fleet from St. Ellins ” (three miles S.E. from Spithead). “ On receiving this intelligence H.M. will send immediately to Ireland.”

A change of wind enabled the fleet to sail on the 18th ; two days later the expedition arrived before Cork.

Grafton's fiery spirit scorned detention on board while there was stern work to be done ashore, and he at once placed his services as a volunteer at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief, a step most welcome to Marlborough, who knew his value as a leader. On the 23rd he headed the troops landed at Passage, which commanded the approaches to the city. This position seized, and “ being come next day within a mile of the Town of Cork, they began,” says Kennett, “ to mount their cannon and to lay formal siege.” Marlborough pressed the attack with the utmost vigour, outwork after outwork fell in quick succession, and on the 28th a breach in the main defences was declared practicable. Grafton, with several naval officers, inspired by his influence, took their place among the stormers. It was a desperate service, as the advance had to be made

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through a waterlogged bog known as the Rape Marsh, now the seat of some of the principal buildings in the city. As the story is told in Kennett's history, "the Grenadiers led the van and marched forward with incredible bravery, having an example of glory set them by the Duke of Grafton."

In spite of the heavy fire now concentrated on the column, the four English regiments detailed for the assault, up to their shoulders in water, pressed on to the foot of the breach. "Grafton, ever foremost in danger," to cite Macaulay, "while struggling through the quagmire was struck by a shot from the ramparts and carried back desperately wounded." A musket ball had broken two ribs and penetrated the body.

The work, however, was done, for the attack in which he had so brilliantly shared accomplished the surrender of the city, as soon as the breach was reached. Four thousand men laid down their arms. Within an hour of the capitulation, with such tremendous momentum did Marlborough carry on war, his cavalry were half way to Kinsale.

But for the hero of this record, with whom the end left no jewel wanting to his pride, time was now over. The last honour bestowed upon him living, which indeed he was never able to accept, was the



EUSTON HALL, WEST FRONT (1717)

From an old drawing

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command of the naval forces left on the Irish coast, a tardy gift from the Sovereign he had served so well. His death, however, brought to light one act of reparation from the royal hand. Dr. Clarke, from 1680—1736 Fellow of All Souls and for the last twenty years of his life M.P. for the University of Oxford, whose autobiography contains many details of these times, reveals that he was told by Lord Inchiquin (the Lord O'Brien of the Mediterranean cruise), "who was with the Duke when he fell and had the perusing of his papers after his death, that he found a most kind letter of the King's to him upon occasion of his behaviour in the sea fight of Beachy Head, when he acted as a private captain tho' before the Revolution he had been Vice-Admiral of England and would, if he had lived, have made a great figure in our naval affairs." It is significant that this letter was not made public in the Duke's lifetime, a trait of reticence in personal matters which fits in with the estimate of fine character we are permitted to form.

A more substantial act of royal bounty, which belongs to the same year, lay in the grant to the Duke of a piece of land extending from St. James's Street to the Park, and from the Palace to Park Place, for the sale of which his son and successor

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obtained an act of Parliament in order to discharge the liabilities of his marriage settlement.

The life of one Joseph Pike sheds a curious sidelight upon the popular feeling for Grafton's part in these operations, besides affording evidence of the resolution of the defence. Pike appears to have come to Cork to attend a meeting of the Society of Friends, a moment obviously ill-chosen, and betrays much anxiety at the prospect of the town being taken by assault. "The siege," he says, "presently came on; for the Governor would not surrender on summons: the paving of the streets were pulled up to deaden the bombs of which many fell in the town. The cannon from without roared, and they made a breach in the wall on the east side towards South Gate. The Duke of Grafton commanded the marines and approached to Dunscombe Marsh over the river, intending to storm the breach; and in all human probability would have carried the town, but that he was mortally wounded from the walls and died in about a week."

For a time contradictory rumours were rife as to the state of the wounded man. A report brought by the captain of the *Greyhound* frigate to Milford Haven states: "It is much to be feared that the Duke of Grafton is dead, there being letters that

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mention it particularly." On the other hand, a news letter of about the same date declares : " Mr. Hutton is also arrived from Cork, who says he left the Duke of Grafton on Sunday night so well that he could walk about the streets," and so late as October 14th a ship reached Plymouth confirming this report. It was not, however, to be ; the surgery of that date was not equal to the task, with all the vitality contributed by the patient. Authentic information contained in a news letter of October 13th, set all doubt at rest in these terms : " The last advice from Ireland dated the 10th (he died on the 9th) gave a full account of the death of the Duke of Grafton and the great remorse and penitence he had before his death, being sensible for two days before it would ensue." A news-letter of November 6th brings the sorrowful tale to a close. " The *Grafton* arrived from Ireland the 1st, and on the 2nd the Duke's corpse was brought into port by a smack under mourning colours and received by Mr. Hugh Morris, a gentleman belonging to the family." Thus in the vessel which bore his name and, in the end, had the baptism of his blood, the hero's body was restored to the land which on both elements he had fought so resolutely to defend, there to receive the homage prepared by a people's love to consecrate a nation's loss.

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All contemporary evidence goes to show that his death, like his life, impressed the popular imagination and was the occasion of widespread and demonstrative grief. He had that daredevil charm which disturbs the circumspect ceremonial of life with the recklessness of high emprise.

No thought of his own safety ever troubled his courage, no counsel of caution ever compromised his valour : his disposition was as generous as combative ; the hazards of conflict were the inspiration to action, the risks of enterprise the ransom of tameness. No life was possible that did not present the large opportunities of adventure, no death could satisfy whose setting fell short of a challenge to the highest achievement. And so in the absence of the last phase, the heroic pitch of this hazardous life would have been without complement and completion. His was one of those natures which in moments of extreme peril burst into their fullest flower. Audacity then breathed its native air. And with it all, that touch of chivalrous self-abnegation so necessary to the ideal of knightly service.

There was something of the "*esprit empanaché*" about him, inherited from a long line of French ancestors, which but a century before had blossomed in the headlong charge of Henry of Navarre.

DUKE OF
GRAFTON



CHARLES SECOND DUKE OF GRAFTON

From the picture by Hoare in the National Portrait Gallery

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It is this popular strain in his character and exploits to which the rude ballad-makers of the day responded in their efforts to celebrate his death and funeral ; and so they fashioned the simple garlands of poesy hung upon his bier. Two of the most notable are printed below from the copies, one sadly mutilated, in the British Museum.

As popular elegiacs these lines from the more complete are not wanting in the note of personal grief, nor in some felicity of phrase :

“ And he whose eyes bedew his sacred Urn
Each pious drop into a Pearl will turn
To adorn his Hearse. But he, who none can vent,
Doth bring more marble to his monument.
Him Heaven a Pattern did for Heroes form,
Quick in advice and eager to perform.
In counsel calm, fierce as a storm in fight,
Danger his Sport and Labour his delight ;
To him the Fleet and Camp, the Sea and Field,
Did equal harvest of bright glory yield.”

Grafton's remains were laid to rest at Euston, in the little church (now full of mural tributes to his descendants) which the care of Arlington had bestowed on the home he loved, but not before the people of the metropolis had been given the opportunity of paying homage to an illustrious memory. A stately pageant, with all the pompous accessories

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of equipage and ceremonial wherein the age delighted was organised for the reception of the embalmed body at Westminster Abbey, where the office for the dead was attended by Queen Mary, Regent of the kingdom, the great Officers of State, the Knights of the Garter and representatives of the two Services which the valour of the fallen had adorned and sustained.

“ The Valiant never taste of death but once.”

Julius Cæsar.

THE NOBLE FUNERAL OF THAT RENOWNED CHAMPION

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON,

WHO WAS SLAIN AT THE SIEGE OF CORK AND ROYALLY
INTERRED IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.¹

To the tune of “ Fond Boy ” or “ Love’s a Sweet Passion. ”

As two men was walking down by the seaside
And the rare Duke of Grafton was shot in his side,
They stepped unto him, and thus did they say :
“ Oh, the rare Duke of Grafton is now cast away ” :
They sent him to Portsmouth with Royal Renown,
And thence to fair London, being near the crown.

¹ Stanzas four and six are too mutilated for reproduction.

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They divided his bowels and laid at his feet,
Whilst they embalmed his body with spices so
sweet

Six weeks together they kept him from the clay,
While the nobles appointed his funeral day.

Twelve lords went before him, six bore him to
ground,

While the drums and the trumpet did solemnly
sound.

In Westminster Abbey, it's now called by name,
The rare Duke of Grafton was bury'd in Fame,
They sighed and sobbed and spent their whole day
While our gracious Queen Mary came weeping
away.

When the rare Duke of Grafton lay deep in the
clay,

Then his soldiers went wandering every way.

But Death, that grim King, now hath took him
away

And left us in sorrow and sadness this day,
And sent him a while for to lye in the dust,
Till angels shall place him with saints 'mongst the
just.

Then let the brave Actions and Deeds be extoll'd
Of the stout Duke of Grafton, that champion bold.

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ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

October 27th, 1690.

WHEN first around our Isle the News was spread
 (Ah, dismal news !) the noble Duke was dead,
Such was the sudden Transport of our fears,
We were unwilling to believe our Ears ;
But when the confirmation of it came,—
Ah, doleful News ! Ah, dismal word of Fame !—
Like men entranced we stood, and in a maze
With ghostly eyes did on each other gaze.
But he is gone ——— ——— ——— ———
And he whose Eyes bedew his sacred Urn,
Each pious drop into a Pearl will turn
To adorn his Hearse : But he who none can vent,
Doth bring more marble to his Monument.
Him Heav'n a Pattern did for Heroes form,
Quick in advice and eager to perform ;
In counsel calm, fierce as a Storm in Fight ;
Danger his sport and Labour his delight ;
To him the Fleet and Camp, the Sea and Field,
Did equal Harvests of bright glory yield.
Who can forget how valiantly, how free,
He did assert the empire of the Sea.

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The Gallic Fleet endeavour'd but in vain
The tempest of his fury to sustain ;
Shattered and torn before his Flag they flew,
Like Doves that the exalted Eagle view,
Ready to stoop and seize them from on high,
With all the wings of fear and haste do fly.
The glorious feats this valiant Duke hath done
Has England's highest admiration won ;
And though in deepest grief we mourn him gon,
We may rejoice that he was ours so long.
And if the Immortal dead do see or know
The various actions of mankind below,
Sure his bright soul with kind concern looks down
And breathes auspicious wishes to the Crown.
How blest were we, had we the blessing known
When we had Princely Grafton for our own ;
But Heaven, that we our mighty Happiness
Might truly understand, did make it less
And did his noble soul from us remove
To swell the number of the Bless'd above.
Ye partial Heavens, must Princely Heroes thus,
Though they have lived like Gods, yet die like us ?
Patience in endless evils must be shown,
But oh ! such grief as this admits of none.
In vain we Hope and Sigh, in vain we Pray,
If what we love must thus be torn away ;

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But we confess with Grief that Princes' Breath
Is frail like ours, like us they stoop to Death ;
And we must own how fondly we began
To fancy Grafton somewhat more than man.
'Twas he whose flaming courage did disdain
The slow advances of a vulgar man ;
His early years in bloody wars did show
What riper age might for his country do.
'Twas he who did in raging Fire and Storms
Defend the Crown our Gracious King adorns ;
'Twas he made the Irish Rebels quake
And trembling French their trenches to forsake.
But ah ! he's gone ——— ——— ——— ——— ———
Excelling Prince, oh, once our Joy and Care,
Now our eternal Grief and deep Despair,
Whither were all those careful angels fled
That were entrusted with thy sacred Head ?
Where were they then ? how did they misemploy
Their time, when thou didst on thy Death-bed ly
And bow'd thy head to awful Destiny !
Impartial Death like Tarquin's wand,
The soonest reaches those that highest stand,
Letting ignoble useless shrubs alone
And strikes the stately, full-grown Poppy down.
But when a noble Heroe yields to Fate,
Then sorrow rises in the greatest state ;

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The sullen'st Mortal then will shed a Tear
As death in all its grandeur doth appear.
But oh ! I've done, for whilst to mind I call
His Godlike worth, the Tears like rivers fall
From my swell'd Eyes, half languished now with
 cares,
Shaded with grief and almost quench'd in Tears.

NOTE

ISABELLA DUCHESS OF GRAFTON

(1690—1723)

THIS record is hardly complete without a note on the later life of the widowed Duchess, who after her husband's death seems to have lived by inclination aloof from the public eye. Three years passed before her attentive friend Evelyn has anything to say of her. On June 11th, 1693, there occurs the brief entry : " I din'd at Sir W^m Godolphin's and after evening prayer visited the Dutchesse of Grafton." In December of the same year he notes : " The Dutchesse of Grafton's appeal to the House of Lords for the Prothonotaries place given to the late Duke and her son by King Charles, now challenged by the Lord Chief Justice. The judges were severely reproved on something they said."

The case appears to have attracted considerable attention, for Lord Russell, afterwards second Duke of Bedford, writing to his sister Lady Roos,¹ says : " For this week there has been no talking of any-

¹ Afterwards second Duchess of Rutland.

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thing but of the Duchesse of Grafton's and my Lord Chief Justice's cause which has been before the House of Lords, and where I was three or four times, and there was every day the D^{sse} of Grafton and the D^{sse} of Ormond, but this day (December 21st) the D^{sse} of Grafton and the Lord Chief Justice have agreed and the D^{sse} is to have £1,500."

The matter is thus described in a series of news letters among the Denbigh MSS., addressed by a certain Frenchman to a correspondent at the Hague, and seems at one time to have threatened a constitutional crisis of some gravity.

" Il y aun grand procez commencé entre la belle Duchesse de Grafton and my Lord Chef de Justice, dont les mal intentionnez se servent pour tacher de forme une brouillerie entre les deux chambres touchant leurs privileges." The Chief Justice, he proceeds, had gained his cause before three of his colleagues, but on appeal to the House of Lords, " il est survenu un incident qui donne occasion au Chef de Justice de dire que c'est une affaire originelle et que les Seigneurs ne peu-vent n'y ne doivent en conoitre sans faire prejudice au droit de peuple représenté dans la chambre des Communes. . . . Sur le premier examen il y a eu une division parmy les Seigneurs 43 contre 28 qui n'a pas été favorable

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au trois juges, car on a été sur le point de les envoyer à la tour."

A week later he resumes: "L'affaire de la Duchesse de Grafton dont je vous écrit le commencement occupé depuis trois jours la Chambre des Seigneurs jusques a huit heures du soir et on ne l'a pas encore finie." Referring again to the malicious intentions to embroil the two branches of the legislature, he declares "On n'y réussira pas," and adds, "My Lord Portland par ordre de Roi a taché d'accommoder le different mais le Chef de Justice n'y a pas encore voulu consentir." It seems from what Lord Russell says, the parties ultimately agreed to go halves.

A couplet in the poems of George Granville,¹ afterwards Lord Lansdowne, thus describes the plaintiff's appearance during the proceedings:

"Secure she looks, as certain none can see
Such beauty plead and not her captive be."

Although Evelyn lived for another twelve years and kept up his diary to the end, no further mention is made of the Duchess. Even her remarriage in October, 1698, to Sir Thomas Hanmer, passes unnoticed. The fourth holder of a Welsh baronetcy,

¹ Grandson of Sir Bevil Granville, who fell in the arms of victory on Lansdowne Hill, Bath, July 5th, 1643.

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he represented Thetford, Flintshire and Suffolk in Parliament 1701—1727, and in the year 1713 was unanimously elected Speaker for the last Parliament of Queen Anne. He was well known as a man of literary tastes, of which his edition of Shakespeare is the most abiding memorial.

A select and cultivated society gathered around them at Euston, and that favoured spot spread its ample lawns and grateful shade for the enjoyment of those who loitered in good company along the placid waterways.

The Duchess's charm did not yield to the jealous years, and up to her death on February 7th, 1723, at the age of fifty-five, she retained the strong regard and admiration of her friends and preserved to the last a character for all the virtuous graces of spirit and conduct.

Before her life closed she saw her son Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (August, 1721—August, 1723) : he took to Dublin, as Chaplain, and in the following year appointed to the deanery of Dromore, one whose fame, as Bishop Berkeley, was to become memorable among British philosophers. The Duke had to deal with the national ferment arising out of the patent for Wood's halfpence and left it to be composed by the stronger hand of Carteret. Subse-

HENRY DUKE OF GRAFTON

quently he held office of Lord Chamberlain for thirty-three years, until indeed his death in 1757, being a member *ex officio*, as was then the custom, of every cabinet during that period. He also acted as one of the Lords Justices of the Kingdom upon each occasion of the Sovereign quitting the realm. As Lord Chamberlain he was induced by Walpole, who had been lampooned in the "Beggar's Opera," to forbid the representation of its sequel, a play entitled "Polly," but he redeemed this act of harshness when later in concert with Garrick he was instrumental in bringing to London a famous French company and, the venture not proving a financial success, he met the loss out of his own pocket.

In his day was founded the Grafton Hunt, which for two centuries has maintained fox-hunting in South Northamptonshire. It was in Whittlewood Forest that Princess Amelia, the King's second daughter, established herself for the sport, and the Duke, whose wife, a sister of the second Duke of Beaufort, had died in 1726, was credited by the scandalmongers of the day with the possession of the lady's intimate friendship.

He acquired a remarkable influence over George II. by his shrewd judgment and jesting treatment of politics and enjoyed the King's con-

ISABELLA DUCHESS OF GRAFTON

fidence to a fuller extent than any contemporary statesman. "Though," says Lord Waldegrave, "he had never applied himself to business and as to books was totally illiterate, yet from long observation and great natural sagacity, he became the ablest courtier of his time with the most perfect knowledge both of King and ministers." He was the godfather of Horace Walpole and earned the bitter hatred of John Lord Hervey.



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